



The
George Washington University
Library



Special Collections
Division

**DOES NOT
CIRCULATE**



MEHMET ALI.

Published by T.C Newby, 72, Mortimer St. Cavendish Square

(Engr. Lith. to Her Majesty. ")

E G Y P T,

AND

M E H E M E T A L I.

BY

PRINCE PUCKLER MUSKAU.

L O N D O N :

T. C. NEWBY, 72, MORTIMER ST., CAVENDISH Sq.

1845.

PREFACE.



THE present work, substantially the same in all respects, has lain in my portfolio for the last four years. It required merely a last revision before I placed it in the hands of the printers. The delay that has taken place in its appearance will not, I trust, militate against its favourable reception ; for, at the period it was written, the interest manifested in the affairs of Egypt had been almost exhausted by the number of publications that had issued from the press, on the subject, and an unaltered description of that country, as it then was, and as it unfortunately no longer exists, may not prove unacceptable. This reflection is, however, of a more recent date, and if I were asked why I have so long delayed the publication of the work, I should, in fact, find it

difficult to assign any precise reason for it. Partly returned to my estates, after an absence of seven years, my attention was claimed more by artistic, than literary occupations ; besides which, perhaps, a feeling of very becoming modesty prompted me not to inundate the public, year after year, with the productions of the same person, however kindly those writings may have been received by the majority of my readers. Although fully sensible of their indulgence, I, nevertheless, could not conceal from myself the fact, that, the very qualities for which I thought myself entitled to credit, my sincerity and natural independence of character which render it impossible for me to bow to narrow prejudices or bigoted views, had placed me somewhat in the position of the bat between the quadrupeds and birds. Aristocrats found me too liberal ; Liberals, too aristocratic ; the Saints, irreligious, and the Atheists, a religious hypocrite ; the German *bureaucratie* represented me as a half revolutionist, and the would-be Liberals insisted, on the other hand, that I took care to avoid giving serious umbrage to those in power, by occasionally flattering them ; in short, it seemed that I could not manage to please any body. If the consequences had been limited to criticism, I should have cared but little about them ; but, to my great regret, I discovered that these opinions began, also, to exercise a considerable influence on my position in life, and did me positive injury. As

I cannot dissimulate, and as, on the other hand, I felt but little inclination to play the part of a Don Quixote, who sacrifices himself without a motive, and without any good resulting therefrom, I deemed it wiser not to appear again in the field as an author, until the times became more propitious.

Besides, there was one kind of criticism that really vexed me. I allude to that which reproached me with being neither a poet nor a philosopher. If I had ever shewn the remotest idea of such a pretension, the critics who resorted to this mode of attack would have been perfectly justified in using it against me. But as I have never even dreamt of such a thing, the reproach is about as absurd as if one were to despise the violet because it is not an oak. Sterne, Lord Chesterfield, and Madame de Sevigné were, like myself, neither philosophers nor poets; and I should esteem myself happy if I possessed but a hundredth part of their fame. This much, however, I will venture to observe, that I have only written for good society, which is never composed of pedants.

Why, after all this sad experience, do I again appear in the lists? Kind reader, some of the motives that have urged me to it, are of a nature that I cannot acquaint you with; but you have, no doubt, read the Bible, and are, consequently, aware that he who has once tasted of the forbidden fruit is sure to feel a longing for it again.

To the hereditary sin, therefore, you must attribute my again appearing before you.

*Waldeinsamkeit, 29th of February,
in the leap year, 1844.*

INTRODUCTION.

As the following work derives part of its title from Mehemet Ali, and as he, of course, forms a principal topic of it, he, whose blind admirer I have been often designated, whilst I am convinced that no one is more misunderstood in Europe than he is, I must preface it by a few general observations, in order to state beforehand my views of the political events which, since my return from Egypt, have altered so materially, and so sadly, the affairs of the East.

A fallen hero is always in the wrong, for mankind in general are but too apt to form their judgment from success or failure, until, when no longer influenced by the passions and interests of the passing hour, a more philosophical view of the past forces them to pay a tribute to historical truth. Thus Napoleon, after

long shining as a meteor, was suddenly dragged into the dust, loaded with abuse, by the paltry spirits of his day, and denied all claim to merit or greatness, because he had fallen from the height to which he had soared. A quarter of a century after his disappearance from the stage, the fickle multitude again awards him the admiration and reverence due to his great talents, and the same nation that tired of him, and forsook him in his adversity, conveys his ashes from their restingplace, in the distant ocean with all the honors in their power to bestow.

I do not mean to class Mehemet Ali in the same category with Napoleon ; but there are points of resemblance between the characters of these two great men ; and to Mehemet Ali, as well as to Napoleon, European nations will yet render full justice, and be compelled to acknowledge that to the workings of that remarkable mind, the beneficial and powerful impulse which forms the foundation of a new era of civilization in the East is chiefly owing. It is but the foundation, it is true ; but it was the Viceroy who laid and strengthened it with indefatigable perseverance and judgment, and with as much success as it was possible for him

to attain in the age in which he lives, for it must not be forgotten that the Mussulmen in this the thirteenth century of their Hegira, and entirely isolated, as they are, from Europe, find themselves, as regards their capacities for cultivation, in the same middle age of progress as we were in at the expiration of the same number of centuries from the birth of our Saviour; a situation from which we were only able to extricate ourselves, by wading through streams of blood; consequently an advance in civilization amongst the Moslems, effected even by the most powerful influence, could not at once bring them to our present state. But how were those middle ages with us? I think that with regard to crime, savage barbarity, immorality, intolerance, and oppression on the part of the powerful in all classes of society, the state of Egypt, under the reign of Mehemet Ali, presents a brilliant contrast to that of most countries of Europe at the period referred to.

Sultan Mahmoud was, like Mehemet Ali, desirous of progress, but in this particular he was decidedly the pupil of his great antagonist. He pursued the same system, but he managed it with infinitely less tact, discretion, spirit and success; nevertheless, by the adoption of

analogous means, he contributed to the furtherance of the common object, though he and his dominions did not derive much advantage from it.

The indisputable and especial merits of Mehemet Ali, as they stand as facts before the eyes of every one, are these :

With an admirable talent for organization, he has managed to introduce into one of the most neglected and disorganized countries in the world, the first conditions of a civilized state—*order and security*, to such a degree, that although laden with gold, the traveller may traverse in safety, and without fear, the immense territories under his sway, from the Taurus to the frontiers of Abyssinia, between sea and Nile and desert.

He has introduced in the administration of justice, and in the general management of his empire, more of equity and settled principle than at present exist in any other oriental state. He has endeavoured to put down fanaticism ; has shown a greater tolerance in religious matters than is to be found in many Christian states ; and has not only protected the Christians throughout his dominions, but even manifested a preference for them ; the fairness of

which as regards his Moslem subjects, admits of question.

He has not only encouraged commercial intercourse with Europe, but has, in a great measure, created it; and by enterprises of the grandest and most varied character, he has awakened that beneficial spirit of industry, which lay dormant in Egypt.

The cultivation of cotton, indigo and sugar, which is now pursued with continually increasing success, was first called into life by him; and a large portion of the produce is manufactured in his own dominions, in factories specially erected for the purpose, at his expense. At the same time, he has given an impetus to the cultivation of silk in Syria, by the plantation of mulberry trees on an extensive scale, the greater portion of which were, however, destroyed by the English, in the war of liberation.

He has founded a system of education, for the instruction of the rising generation, of which no one had even formed a conception in the East for centuries past, and he has devoted immense sums to this noble purpose.

He has projected and built more useful institutions than any Egyptian ruler since the days of Saladin.

In addition to this, he has found means (he, to whom Egypt was allotted without a ship or a single disciplined soldier,) to build for himself a fleet of twelve vessels of the line, and double that number of frigates and schooners, and to form an army of more than a hundred thousand men, trained after the European method. And with these means, the Albanian peasant, who only learned to read in his thirty fifth year, and who often during his eventful life did not know where to lay down his head in safety, became a powerful prince, whose armies twice made the ruler of the Ottoman Empire tremble on his throne, at Byzantium, and whose increasing importance already assigned him a place amongst the first potentates of the earth.

At last, after many great deeds and victories, as in times gone by with the dreaded Corsican, (though with far less reason,) the anathema of European interests was hurled against him, and in this unequal conquest he was vanquished with unexpected rapidity.

As might have been anticipated, a host of writers belonging to different parties, immediately fell upon and assailed more fiercely than ever the wounded lion, who had been so

long the object of their envy, and at the same time raised a shout of exulting derision against those, who in their *blindness* had been accustomed to regard the *conquered* prince as great and distinguished, and even dared to pronounce that opinion openly.

In Mehemet Ali's misfortunes, may be traced other points of resemblance with Napoleón's fate. In the first place he fell by a combination of the most unfavorable and unexpected circumstances, over which he might be said to have little or no control; secondly, his powerful ally, on whose co-operation he had based all his plans, deserted him at the critical moment; and lastly, he did not pursue his original successes with the perseverance of a Cæsar, or an Alexander, nor attempt to push matters to a conclusion without pausing.

In Alexander's place, Napoleon, like Mehemet Ali, would have made peace with the Persian king, after the first battle, not without the idea of re-commencing the war at some future period, it is true; but the time to profit by our opportunities is when we are in the full tide of success. In adversity, however, Mehemet Ali displayed more calmness and prudence than Napoleon, although his conduct

cannot exactly be termed heroic, for from the moment when, forsaken by France, he found himself delivered up to the united powers of England and Austria, he merely made a show of defence, being too sensible not to perceive at the first glance, that it would be impossible for him to hold out with any chance of success. Being neither obstinate nor foolish enough to risk all, by grasping at too much; finding too that fortune had turned against him, and that it was not in his power to control circumstances; sooner than hazard all on *one* card, he preferred throwing up the whole game, with the chance of taking it up again at a more favourable season. When at last St. Jean d'Arc was, I cannot say taken, but blown up and destroyed by an irresistible force of five hundred guns, fired at a rifle-shot distance, the Viceroy only thought of saving what he had left to save.*

* The English themselves boasted in the *Morning Chronicle*, a ministerial paper, that by the immense advantages afforded by their floating batteries, owing to the important improvements effected in these engines of war, no fortress which was within

I know, from the best sources, that from the commencement Ibrahim had received instructions from his father to pursue this course; and indeed, it is the only way in which we can account for the lukewarmness, and negative warfare of the man, who at all times had shewn himself such a fiery and determined soldier.

The part of a man like Mehemet Ali, however, ought never to be considered as quite played out, as long as he is at liberty, and still continues to wield the elements of power. The latter, as well as his distinct independence, he has, with much cleverness, managed to preserve; and who can say whether the Providence that once assigned him a destiny of such historical importance, will permanently deprive him of it. At all events, it would be absurd to conclude from his present diminished import-

range of the enemy's fire from the sea, could resist a fleet of from five to six hundred guns. Those laurels were consequently easily won :—*Note by the author.*

ance, that a man who has for so many years attracted the attention of the world by his extraordinary deeds, has, from the beginning, been nothing but a trickster, engaged in throwing dust in the eyes of both Asiatics and Europeans. This would certainly be less flattering to the deceived than to the deceiver.

It is no less strange than true that one of the principal causes of the rapid downfall of Mehemet Ali is to be found in the merit of his conduct, for by the fact of his trying to raise the nations of the East to a higher degree of civilisation; his approaching himself with that view more and more to European manners and customs; his endeavouring to introduce them amongst the people at large; his displaying this tendency clearly throughout all the acts of his administration, and his inducing the Sultan to follow his example; an entirely new spirit was awakened in the East. The nations that had remained so long stationary became conscious that they stood in need of foreign influence, and that their amalgamation, with European civilization, (I do not mean by servile imitating,

still less by religious conversion,) could alone procure for them an organic regeneration, and by that means, a state of much greater internal security and happiness, than they had hitherto enjoyed under any Mahometan sceptre. A direct sovereignty, by some of the European powers, seemed, to many, not only possible, but desirable, for they could then obtain from the first source what Mehemet Ali could only give them indirectly and imperfectly. When, therefore, the English and Germans entered the field as his enemies, the population of Syria received them everywhere with triumphant acclamations, and deserted, without scruple, from the Egyptian Government, with the exception of the Emir Beshir, who was more clear-sighted, as regarded the future, and who besides had interests in common with Mehemet Ali. Nevertheless, the Syrians knew full well that even under Ibrahim's iron sceptre, and the venal oppressions of his minions, (for Mehemet Ali had almost entirely abandoned Syria to the will of his son,) they were much better off than they had ever been under the weak rule of the Sultan, and that they must relapse into much greater misery, if matters were restored to their original footing, but they

had a sort of vague hope that an organic change would take place in their Government, and that they would receive a new ruler from European hands. This is to be attributed in a great degree to the fact, that in Syria, and more especially in the Littoral and the Lebanon, a large portion of the most influential inhabitants were already christians, and also to the no less important one, that the Druses were in no way given to religious intolerance, but on the contrary, accommodated themselves with facility to all religious persuasions.*

But even a large number of enlightened Mussulmen entertained similar notions; and, to my surprise, I found, that an idea which forms so striking a contrast to the former fanatical views of countries, not only in Syria, but in Asia Minor, although not yet evident to the multitude, had already occurred to the

* The Emir Beshir was both a Christian and Mahometan at the same time, and would no doubt have turned Jew also, if his so doing could have obtained him the Syrian sceptre.

more reflecting amongst the Moslems, and was rapidly gaining ground.

It is, therefore, only consistent with truth, that I should state, that the victors of that day, have, in a great measure, to thank Mehemet Ali, himself, for the important advantage of finding the people ready to side with them; an advantage, which, unquestionably, contributed to his downfall; (as the same circumstance helped to undermine the power of Sultan Mahmoud) but, on the whole, the East will not derive the less benefit from it, even if Mehemet Ali, like the masses, has been made the unconscious instrument of Providence.

It is, at the same time, certain, that this growing disposition on the part of the Asiatics, which I have shown preceded the late events, must, in future, greatly facilitate the views of any European power, that possesses the inclination, and the means, to avail itself of it, to obtain a decided influence over those countries; and, I have no doubt, the time will come, when this anticipation will be realized.

Should a mutually, beneficial, amalgamation of the elements of civilization, which have been so long kept apart, take place, it

would, unquestionably, lead to as grand an era in history, as has ever marked the general progress of mankind ; and, if, in times more or less remote, a tree laden with such fruit, should overshadow the earth, it will be out of the power of any one, to deprive Mehemet Ali, of the seat of honour at its foot.

It now, only remains for me, to allude to a few matters personal to myself ; which I should pass over in silence, were it not necessary to disabuse the weakminded and credulous, of some previously formed prejudices.

It has been asserted, in several of the public journals, that my being such a decided partizan of Mehemet Ali, is owing to the fact, of his loading me with presents and favours ; and, by some, it was even hinted, that I am in his pay.

In these insinuations, there is little truth.

As regards the favours, and distinctions, shown me, I have, certainly, enjoyed them for a considerable period, and in an unusual degree ; and, I shall always remember, with feelings of gratitude, and personal pride, the many instances in which the Viceroy has been pleased to mark his friendship for me : and, more especially, in the case of one of the

wealthiest, and most eminent merchants of Cairo; to whom, on *my intercession alone*, he was induced to restore his liberty, and the greater part of his fortune—both of which he had forfeited, according to law.

At that period, according to the eastern custom, I was for several months regarded as the viceroy's guest, and as such was provided, at his expense, with a residence, and all the necessaries of life, such as the country affords, and even treated at Cairo and Alexandria, with a degree of state that I would have been glad to dispense with, for besides the trouble it occasioned me, it is well known that oriental hospitality on the part of the great, is paid for to their attendants, at a much dearer rate than it is really worth. Besides, Mehemet Ali was aware that the Bey of Tunis had received me with the same princely magnificence.

But as regards presents, I can positively assert that I never received anything from Mehemet Ali, with the exception of a foal, which I set a great value on, from the fact of the Viceroy himself choosing it for me amongst his stud at Shubra.

Ibrahim Pasha also made me a present of two foals from his own stud, through the me-

dium of Baki Bey. The conveyance of these animals, for which I had to charter a vessel to Trieste, cost me a great deal more than they were really worth, and among the genuine Arabian horses, which I afterwards purchased myself in the desert, there is not one that is not more than ten times the value of these three foals.

I may here mention as a curious coincidence, that Mehemet Ali's spirited horse, which had become an excellent hunter, was fatally injured in clearing a ditch, on the very day that St. Jean d' Arc fell.

I perhaps remained too long in the Egyptian empire. The character of the Orientals is full of suspicion, and Mehemet Ali has had but too much reason to distrust Europeans.

The distinction which he shewed me, and the unmerited importance which he attached to my person, aroused the envy and malice of many influential persons, both Europeans and Turks, and these feelings were aggravated by the fact of my stating my opinions to the Viceroy, about everybody and everything, when invited by him to do so, without the least reserve, and as it appears, without due caution.

It was not long, therefore, before I discovered that intrigues of all sorts had been set on foot against me, but I gave myself but little concern about them. At that time, that is to say during my residence at Cairo, (when I entirely declined Mehemet Ali's generous hospitality) I sent an article to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which contained a few harmless observations about the excessive corpulence of Said Bey, the Viceroy's youngest son, but which received a very different character from the unlucky circumstance of the editor taking it into his head, to head the article, "*The Fat Prince.*"

From that moment I perceived in the Viceroy's manner, a certain coolness and decrease of intimacy, which grieved me much, but which I could in no way remedy, as any attempt at explanation on my part would only have made matters worse.

At a subsequent period, when in Syria, then under the sway of Ibrahim Pasha, and when a safe and direct communication with Mehemet Ali was no longer practicable, there were many who profited by my absence to try and deprive me altogether of the Viceroy's favour, for after a brilliant reception by

Soliman Pasha, on my arrival in Syria, I was soon involved by certain unpleasant events, (certainly attributable to no fault of mine, and to which I will have occasion to allude more specifiially in the course of this work,) in a most disagreeable position with the Government of Ibrahim Pasha, and the complaint which I addressed to Mehemet Ali on the subject was left unanswered.

Since that time, although I remained another six months in the country, I never accepted anything from the Government, and had no sort of connection with it, with the exception of the correspondence, which I continued at long intervals with Boghos Bey, whose friendship remained unaltered, and who constantly assured me of the Viceroy's friendly disposition towards me, without my taking these assurances for more than simple phrases of courtesy.

Nevertheless, they afterwards afforded me an opportunity, when the well-known persecution of the Jews at Damascus began to attract attention, to intercede for that persecuted race, of whose innocence I was convinced, and the thanks which I received from them, proved the success of my mediation.

Thus it will be seen, that my relations, with Mehemet Ali, have not always remained undisturbed, and that on their termination, I should not have felt myself called upon from any personal motives to take up my pen on his behalf, did not the most genuine admiration of the eminent qualities, and the great historical deeds of that prince, prompt me now, as it did then, to state, impartially, what I consider to be the truth in his regard, and by that means, as far as my feeble powers will enable me to do so, to defend him against the many unjust charges and erroneous judgments, by which he continues to be assailed and which more especially emanate from the pens of German writers, a fact the more remarkable, when it is remembered that the most distinguished public characters, both English and French, amongst whom I may mention the gallant Commodore, who was lately his successful antagonist, have always done him much more justice.

EGYPT, AND MEHEMET ALI.

FIRST PART.

LOWER EGYPT.

VOL. I.

D

E G Y P T,

AND

M E H E M E T A L I.

CHAPTER I.

ARRIVAL.

It was the first day of the new year, 1837. A bright sun scattered its golden tints over the scene, and a soft breeze wafted its odours across the bosom of the voluptuously undulating sea, yet a few solitary clouds floated through the sky, and obscured, at intervals, the glorious luminary of day, an image of human life even in its happiest moments.

Before me, on the island of Candia, Mount

Ida reared its lofty head, clothed in a glittering robe of immaculate white, from the snow which had fallen overnight, the effect of which was heightened by the deep shadows of a circle of mountains and rocks, which surrounded it like a faithful body guard.

Gliding gently over the mirror-like surface of the waters in our beautiful felucca, we approached, with even-timed strokes of the oars, the brig of the Viceroy of Egypt, the *Semendidschad*, which lay in waiting for me in a small bay of the island of Dia, and now received me with a salute from her guns. There is an historical interest attaching to this little brig, for she bore Osman Pasha, the Viceroy's ungrateful favourite, on his flight to the Sultan at Constantinople.

I embarked on board her, with my small suite, and found that, with the exception of one of my servants, a German, I was the only European amongst several hundreds of Candiots, Arabs, Turks, and Negroes, of singular appearance, and almost all of whom spoke languages that were wholly unintelligible to me. They manifested, however, the greatest anxiety to minister to my comfort, and the captain's state-room, which was fitted up with every

possible convenience, having been obligingly assigned to me by order of Mustapha Pasha, everything promised a most agreeable passage over the Lybian sea. I had been too unlucky in my experience of that treacherous element, however, to feel over confident of the result.

Towards evening we found a sea, agitated by the southerly winds of the preceding week, which dashing violently against us, gave the most disagreeable jerks to the vessel, the sails of which, were filled by a favourable breeze from the north, and at night it almost blew a hurricane. The neat order in which I had taken the trouble to arrange the contents of my cabin was soon converted into chaos itself, for the whole of the tables, laden as they were, with books, papers, decanters, and glasses, were suddenly overturned with a tremendous crash, and whilst I clung to my berth, in order to avoid a similar catastrophe, a tub on deck rolled over the sky-light of my cabin, and shivering the glass into a thousand pieces, sent them all down upon me like a shower of sharp hail-stones. A re-arrangement of these disorganized masses was out of the question, in such a violent and continued rocking of the brig, over which the waves were now dashing

fearfully, besides all my people were suffering so dreadfully from sea-sickness, that during the two days and nights this weather lasted, I did not set my eyes on one of them. If an old negro had not taken pity on me I should have remained without the least assistance, for neither the Captain, of whom the negro said with some contempt, that he also was sea-sick, nor any of the crew made their appearance. Altogether there seemed to be so much confusion about the management of the vessel, and the evolutions were performed with so much noise, and, at the same time, so slowly, and, in fact, so very differently from European vessels of war, that had I no other opportunity of judging of Mehemet Ali's fleet, than from this brig, I should not have formed a very high opinion of it. Nothing more was left for me to do than to arm myself with patience, and to remain as quietly as possible in my berth, leaving the broken and dispersed articles to roll themselves again into order, if it so pleased them. I passed fifty hours in this agreeable situation, with a phlegmatic listlessness worthy of a Turk, visited slightly by sea-sickness, almost completely helpless and only at long intervals, and with no small

effort, accomplishing the feat of drinking off a cup of beef tea which the Negro brought me, with the evolutions of a rope dancer, in his fear of spilling it over the bed, or of pulling a lean bit of mutton to pieces, so as not to go entirely without that indispensable nourishment.

It was only on the third day, after proceeding continually under studding sails, during the night's even backing sail, yet making from five to six knots an hour, that rude Boreas ceased to roar ; the sea became perceptibly calmer, and it was with great delight I learned from one of my at length revived servants, that the Bay of Aboukir was already in sight, and that even the arsenal of Alexandria was visible in the distant horizon. Although still giddy and suffering from a most violent head-ache, the usual result of sea-sickness with me, I threw my cloak about me, and hastily ascended to the deck. The foaming waves were still dashing over the bow of the vessel, and we were rocking violently to and fro at their mercy, but in a less degree than before ; and the aspect of the sea, already coloured by the waters of the Nile and the sight of Egypt, that long looked for land, soon made me forget

all my sufferings. A few hours more, and before me lay the immortal Macedonian's city, with its thousand romantic associations, regenerated, it might be said, by another of the Macedonian heroes of history, fast growing into its ancient splendour between the ocean and desert, and as it emerged from the flat sand-banks, in its half oriental, half European forms of architecture, looking like some fairy creation, which now seemed suddenly to rise, and then as quickly to vanish behind the rolling waves. There appeared, as if floating in the air, without any perceptible basis, the tall column of Pompeius, and before it, a forest of masts, rising from the sea, and stretching from one end of the majestic harbour to the other. The site of the celebrated Pharos of Ptolemy is now occupied by a fort, and the Viceroy's spacious palace divides the new harbour from the old, which have both changed their denominations, for the more ancient of the two is now the only one fit for use, and the so called new one is without vessels, and blocked up with sand.

The scene was a novel one, and the nearer we approached, the more we were struck with its various features, not the least interesting of

which was the fleet, that colossal work of a creative genius, which only took eight years to build. It was the commencement of the Bairam feast, and ten vessels of the line of more than one hundred guns each, six fifty gun frigates, and about seventy schooners and brigs, ranged in wide, extending lines, and covered with innumerable flags of various colors from the mast-head to the deck, presented a scene of unusual magnificence. Scarcely had the pilot guided us through the narrow entrance of the harbour, when a fire was opened from all the forts and vessels, which gave an excellent idea of a naval engagement. In a few moments the palaces, ships, and even the sea itself disappeared from our view, the atmosphere became dense with smoke, and nothing was visible save the flashes of the guns, nothing audible save their thunder bel-
lowing forth right and left, before and behind us, as if all Alexandria had been suddenly metamorphosed into a volcano. The spir t of him who ruled there seemed to float on the waters, and to manifest itself to us in all its power and greatness. It was a soul stirring scene, a noble reception at the frontier of the mysterious land of ancient and modern wonders,

which now lay extended before me; and deeply moved, I blessed my lucky star, which after some dangers and obstacles thrown in my way, had at length guided me safely to it.

CHAPTER II.

ALEXANDRIA.

RECEPTION—BESSON BEY—BOGHOS BEY.

WE had scarcely anchored when I received a visit from the Major General of the Fleet, Besson Bey, who, apprised of my arrival by the Seraskier of Candia, came to offer me, in the most obliging manner, a suite of apartments in his hotel, in the new Square of Ibrahim, informing me at the same time that his carriage would be in waiting for me as soon as I was ready to land.

This Frenchman, who is in such high favor

with Mehemet Ali, and is, in fact, the soul of his navy, is the same Besson, formerly the captain of a French ship, who at Rochfort proposed to Napoleon to convey him to America; and when the Emperor in spite of Besson's earnest entreaties adhered to his fatal resolution of throwing himself on the magnanimity of the English; the latter sailed the day previous to Napoleon's departure, *and during the whole of his passage never encountered one of the enemy's ships.*

I asked only for a short time to arrange my effects, which had been thrown into the most lamentable confusion on board, and landing half an hour afterwards on the quay (without experiencing the least annoyance from an over officious populace, as is so disagreeably the case at Algiers and several other ports) I found an elegant English carriage, drawn by two Arabian horses, in waiting for me, as also several large camels for the transportation of my baggage.

Highly pleased to find myself again on *terra firma*, I jumped into the britzka and was rapidly conveyed through that portion of the town which still preserves its Turkish character, with its various colored and filthy popula-

tion, its red, white, and green soldiers, with their glittering muskets, and as M. Von Prokesch appropriately terms them "its oriental piles of stench and perfumes." We at length reached the quarter inhabited by the Franks the clean and orderly appearance of which together with the European style of its palaces, would do credit to our more civilized quarter of the globe; although part of the site on which they stand has only been recently, as it were, snatched from the sea. Here are also the houses of the foreign consuls, whose immense flags were unfurled in compliment to the Bairam, and contributed in no small degree to the animated appearance of the scene. Light, winding staircases were affixed to the masts, from which their banners floated on the upper terraces of the houses, and led like snail towers to their very tops, giving them a very pretty appearance.

The amiable general received me at the gate of his hotel, and having installed me in a superbly furnished and extensive suite of apartments on the first floor, introduced me to M. Roquerbes, the Prussian Consul, (who, as I understood, lived above me in the same house) and indeed provided so kindly and con-

siderately for all my wants, that I had nothing left to wish for.

The Viceroy's reply to the letters forwarded to his Highness, arrived next day, whereupon Boghos Bey, the first and most intimate minister of Mehemet Ali, honored me with a visit.

Boghos Bey is an Armenian and a Christian, who began his career as a dragoman, and who, by his talents, loyalty, and winning manners towards high and low, has not only succeeded in obtaining the full confidence of his master, but great popularity amongst the foreign residents and natives of the country, especially among the lower classes. His appearance is distinguished by the utmost simplicity, and his manners, although those of a man of the world, display a humility that looks almost studied, though he is by no means without dignity, nor without an apparent consciousness of his importance to the state, and of the powerful influence which he exercises over his master. On one occasion only, and that long since, has he ever been in danger of forfeiting the favor he now enjoys, and then, owing, I know not to what cause, certain it is that Mehemet Ali's anger was roused to such a degree that he

ordered him to be secretly executed. The Consul Rosetti saved him in an almost fabulous manner, and kept him concealed until the Pasha, who was under the impression that his orders had been complied with, expressed his deep grief at having lost a man who was so indispensable to him.

He then ventured to reveal the truth to Mehemet Ali, and from that moment, as far as is known, the confidence which he has reposed in Boghos Bey has never received another check. The minister's gratitude towards his preserver, has, after the death of the latter, been continued to his family, and has never vacillated for a moment.

All affairs of a commercial nature, all intercourse with the consuls as well as the foreign relations of the kingdom generally, are conducted by Boghos Bey, and as the viceroy has been hitherto the only great merchant of his dominions, and as politics and commerce work more together here than in any other country, the extent of his department and of his occupations may be judged of from these facts. He is now a man past sixty years of age, with small and sparkling eyes, the fiery and cunning, though somewhat unsteady expression

of which, he tries very characteristically to soften and conceal as much as possible, underneath the shawl which forms his head-dress and which is drawn down low over his forehead.

He is without the least affectation of business importance, easy of access, though of indefatigable industry, affable to every one, an enemy to ostentation and pomp, discreet to an extreme, and certainly one of the most cunning of the cunning. Of this latter quality commercial men complain greatly, nevertheless they prefer having to deal with him rather than with any of the other men in power here ; for cunning, effects its purposes in a more gentle manner than brute force, although in the end the result is perhaps the same.

As I shall probably have frequent opportunities of again alluding to this statesman, who exercises so powerful an influence over the destinies of Egypt, it is sufficient for me here to add, that our first interview in which we touched upon a variety of subjects, awakened the liveliest interest in my mind, and that the friendly and flattering communications which he conveyed to me from his Highness the

Viceroy produced in me, feelings of surprise, as well as of the liveliest gratitude.

During my first sojourn at Alexandria, I only saw him two or three times more at his own house, but each visit only served to strengthen the favourable impression which he at first made on me. I could not but admire the penetration with which he judged of European affairs, as well as feel surprised at the polished and courtier-like manners, and the graceful exterior of a man who had never had the slightest opportunity of cultivation on our European models. In fine, I regard it almost as a duty here to express my gratitude for the unmerited distinction which he shewed me by order of the Viceroy. The carriages and horses of his Highness were daily placed at my disposal and a guard of honour was sent me, which I had great difficulty in declining. On my visit to the fleet, I was received by the admiral with the same honours as at Candia, and every wish that I expressed, was immediately complied with, with the same readiness with which I was shewn everything I desired to see ; independent of which, I did not re-

mark the least reserve, or attempt at secrecy about anything.*

* Boghos Bey, as the reader is aware, died recently—a serious loss to the Viceroy, for he had few servants more faithful, certainly none more efficient. The envious hatred of the great, ventured only to betray itself over his grave. The European residents had reason to respect his memory, and they proved it by their sympathy.

CHAPTER III.

ANTIQUITIES.

My first proceeding, after the performance of the necessary social duties, was of course to visit the few remains of past ages, of which Alexandria is still in possession.

The piles of rubbish which extend a long distance between Lake Mareotis and the sea, are all that is left of so many ancient splendours, and of a city of six hundred thousand inhabitants, which was long looked upon as the second in the world, and may perhaps become so again. In these confused masses, one

may, however, still distinctly recognise the site of the principal street, which led from the Canopean Gate to the Necropolis, a distance of thirty stadii from east to west. A number of pillars, which stood at each side of it, as lately as ten years ago, have been taken down and partly used in the construction of the Arsenal.

Of the second magnificent street which intersected the above, and extended from the gate of the sun to that of the moon, every trace has disappeared, and only the so-called column of Pompey, the Needles of Cleopatra, and the Catacombs are worthy of a visit. I viewed them during an interesting excursion on horseback, in company with M. Lesseps, the accomplished French consul, and M. Aubert, a young physician, who has gained deserved reputation by his talent and intrepidity during the late visitations of the cholera and plague.

He assured me, by the bye, that he considered death, by the plague, one of the most agreeable that can befall a man, for pleasing dreams, and but little pain form the state of transition through which the sufferer passes into the other world. The plague can scarcely

ever be said to leave Alexandria entirely, for even when the epidemic has ceased to rage, severe cases occasionally occur.

Of all infectious diseases, however, the plague is luckily easiest to be avoided by using a proper degree of caution; its cruel sister, the cholera, is far more terrible in every respect.

On looking at Cleopatra's needles—the poetical name given to two obelisks of pink granite—one of which, now lies prostrate—and which, once stood before the Temple of Cæsar; I was struck by the powerful effect of the atmosphere, even in so genial a climate as that of Egypt; the hieroglyphics on the eastern side of the obelisk, that still remains standing, and which, had been cut more than an inch deep, being almost entirely obliterated; whilst the inscription on the western side, appears as if recently engraved. In the midst of the high piles of rubbish, in which these obelisks are situated, they produce but little effect on the visitor, although their blocks, eighty feet in length, are, in themselves, sufficiently imposing. It is to be regretted, that their transposition would, at present, be attended with too much difficulty, to employ

them easily, for other purposes. M. Von Prokesch informed me, that the prostrate obelisk, was offered as a present, to the King of England, by Mehemet Ali—who even proposed to convey it to the sea-shore, at his own expense ; but, that the engineers sent here for the purpose, found that the further transportation of it, would be too expensive. Unfortunately, the French were not deterred by a similar consideration, in the case of the Obelisk of Thebes ; I say unfortunately, for there one of the noblest and most perfect monuments of antiquity, the magnificent temple of Luxor, has been materially disfigured, by the removal of one of the obelisks that stood before the entrance ; whilst the removal of the “ needles ” to Europe, might be turned to splendid account there, and could spoil nothing on their present site. *Both* should, certainly, be taken away ; for, an obelisk standing alone, is an anomaly unknown to the *Egyptians*. They never employed obelisks otherwise than in pairs, as ornaments to their splendid porticos.

The column of Pompey, now ascribed to Diocletian, presents, from its summit, an interesting panorama of city, desert, and sea ; and its Egyptian shaft of polished granite,

fifty feet in height, is, really, beautiful; the remainder, added by the Romans, is barbarian. The country immediately surrounding it, is flat and desolate; and, it is so full of rat holes, that it is dangerous to ride at any speed, over it; as we found, from an accident that fell under our observation.

The catacombs, with, the absurdly so styled, "baths of Cleopatra;" small recesses in the rocks, which are filled with water, and served, perhaps, for the washing of corpses, but, certainly, were never intended for baths—are scarcely worth the trouble of crawling through them. The Fellah who preceded us with a lighted bunch of logwood, allowed the wind to blow out his light, and we were obliged to remain a considerable time in the dark, half suffocated with heat, before he succeeded in finding a place of exit, to get another torch. However insignificant, the still existing antiquities of Alexandria, above ground, may be, I am, nevertheless, surprised, that more frequent, or, at all events, more extensive excavations have not been attempted under these immense piles of ruins; especially, when it is considered, that it was here, that the language of the hieroglyphs, was first translated into the language of the con-

querors ; and, that if, only one inscription in both languages could be found, like the stone of Rosetta, it might, in the present advanced state of science, lead to the most important results.*

* Lepsius is said to have found such an inscription at Philar. I congratulate him, on so important a discovery.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FELLAHS AND THEIR CONDITION.

As we were not pressed for time, we continued our route, until we reached the newly constructed railway, which has been laid down for the conveyance of stone to the buildings, about to be erected on the sea shore. Here we found a great many fellahs, men, women, and children, at work, whose wages had just been raised half a dollar each, by order of the viceroy. The same increase in the amount of their remuneration, has also been made in the other public works. Having read in most works on Egypt, the most deplorable descriptions of the misery of this unfortunate class, I was not a little surprised, to find them, generally speaking, strong, healthy-looking, and

merry fellows, who went singing and laughing, about their work, and were treated most kindly by their keepers. They asked us in a joking manner, for the *backshis*, (a trifle to drink). Their appearance was, certainly ragged, but, in what part of the East, or Greece, is it otherwise? The climate requires but little covering; and order, and cleanliness, cannot, as yet, be classed amongst the distinguishing virtues of those countries. I, subsequently, bestowed much attention on this subject, and, arrived at the conviction, that the Egyptian fellahs, when compared with the same class in Europe, for instance, the Irish peasantry, the subjects of the most enlightened government of the civilized world; or the poor weavers of the Vogtland—of whom, I read in the papers, only this very day, (in the year 1843,) that they cannot succeed in earning, more than two groschens a day—and that, when their only food, the potatoe, fails, they are in danger of starving—that these fellahs, I say, although exposed to some hardships, and arbitrary oppressions—which I will not attempt to deny—are still in a position, which many of our proletarian population, would envy. The dwellings of the fellahs, are, generally, small

huts built of stones and mortar dried by the sun, or even dried mortar, without any other opening than the door. But these habitations are mostly air-tight, and warm in winter, well protected against the rain, and wind—which are, besides, of rare occurrence here ; and afford plenty of shade in summer, and sufficient accommodation for the few wants of these poor people ; whilst in Greece, the more opulent of the rural population, can rarely boast of a roof, that does not admit the snow and rain ; and, when we remember, too, the pig styes filled with suffocating smoke, in which the poor Irish starve, and which, afford but little or no protection, in that comparatively cold climate, our pity must take a very different direction.

The fellahs are poor ; yet, in the smallest villages in Egypt, through which I passed, I almost always found bread, milk, butter, cheese, eggs, vegetables, and poultry, in abundance ; and, in the larger ones, even animal food, which was offered us for purchase, at very low prices, when no *employé* of the government (the rapacity of which, is, certainly, to be classed amongst the calamities of Egypt) happened to be present ; whilst in Greece

onions and oatmeal cake—hardly eatable—are often, the only things to be procured; and, the people, generally, subsist on the same food as the Irish—potatoes and spirits. In short, I have never heard of a fellah dying of starvation, which, to the disgrace of humanity, often happens amongst the Irish peasantry. The fellahs are, it is true, miserably clad, but, even here, the comparison is also in their favour; for, in the first place, the mildness of the climate enables them to dispense almost entirely with clothing; and, in the second, I have never seen the women of the fellahs, like the women, and the girls, amongst the common classes of the Irish—without rags sufficient to cover their nudity, even as far as decency required it. On the contrary, the fellah women, although clad in tattered garments, are, like the other Oriental females, wrapped up to their mouths; besides which, they generally wear five or six gold coins, suspended in a row from their faces,—which does not correspond exactly with the extreme misery of which our philanthropic travellers draw so sad a picture; and, it seems to me, that they see the mote in another's eye, but not the beam in their own. In my opinion,

much more distressing misery, than has ever existed in Egypt, is often to be met with in the streets of Paris and London. I have never heard of a suicide—a crime so frequent with us—amongst the fellahs; and, their well known aversion to become soldiers—which so frequently drives them to acts of the most cruel self-mutilation, does not look as if their condition was so exceedingly miserable. A person who lands here fresh from Europe, and sees the common people clothed in filth and rags—a matter of course in the East, while in Europe, they are only the livery of the most extreme misery, is but too liable to have his imagination wrought upon by first appearances, and, to look from that moment, through a prejudiced medium; many there are, too, who purposely misrepresent facts. The majority, for instance, of the European traders, especially at Alexandria, are hostile to the Viceroy from sheer envy; for, the only great merchant of his country, he, by his system, prevents them from cheating, at their pleasure, the ignorant Egyptians; and, often, by his superior cunning and power, compels the speculators to buy his own merchandise from

him at a rate, that they can make no profit on.

The Viceroy has other enemies, in the adventurers, who expect to find in Egypt a refuge for idlers and vagabonds, and are obliged to quit it, because they are utterly worthless; in those whom, although shewing themselves useful at first, he finds it impossible to retain longer in his employment, on account of their impudent pretensions and bare-faced thefts; in obscure authors, who surprised at having been overlooked or neglected by the Pasha, although they had taken care to notify to him their intention of writing about Egypt, leave that country full of bile, and without a farthing, and on their return to Europe, vent their spite against the "Eastern barbarian;" lastly, in honest, but weak-minded philanthropists, for the most part English, who, as soon as they see a man without a breeches to his body, or in all probability, without roast beef in his stomach, raise a cry against, and curse the cruelty of the Pasha, without taking the trouble to enquire how much of these evils is to be attributed to the force of circumstances, inveterate abuses or

invincible national errors, or how much to the Pasha's will. But still less do they consider that they themselves are sometimes much worse off in these respects, without having the same excuse to offer. All these people now write, or hire others to write against Mehemet Ali, who could certainly easily enough pay for replies to their attacks, but that he despises such antagonists, fully convinced that sooner or later he will be duly appreciated.

Others there are in a higher station who are similarly disposed, but from different motives, which, at present, I will pass over in silence. This, however, is my well meant advice to every stranger. Let him, on coming to Egypt, listen to no tittle tattle, whether it comes from his consul or his tailor, but let him see, examine, and then judge for himself. A modern traveller, who has an agreeable style and something of descriptive talent, has noted down as Gospel truths, all that his good friends and his Dragoman, partly relating, partly translating, have chosen to gull him with about Mehemet Ali, and the state of Egypt. A work of that sort may meet with approbation

and credit in Europe—for what do the masses there know about the affairs of the East.

We are really at the present day still as ignorant of matters in general there, as the French were in the time of Louis Quatorze about everything out of France, and the world has unfortunately but recently witnessed the lamentable results of this ignorance, and may have long to deplore them. But whoever travels in Egypt with such works as his companion, if he happens to have the least turn for observation will often be in doubt, whether the whole is not a joke, and whether the authors, with Champollion, Burckhardt, Belzoni, Cailland, and a few historical works before them on their writing-tables, have not described Egypt without ever leaving their peaceful homes.

Nothing can be more shallow, than the opinions we read, or are daily obliged to listen to, about Mehemet Ali, nothing more absurd than the demands which are constantly made on him. It is somehow expected, that he ought to be at once Romulus, Numa Pompilius, and Trajan in his own person ; neither his position nor the difficulties he has to encounter, are taken

into consideration, the extraordinary things he has already accomplished, are quite lost sight of, and with absurd self-conceit certain persons laugh at what they call *mock* civilisation, which is considered as nothing, because it is still far removed from ours. They are in short, (I really cannot call it by any other name,) stupid enough, not to understand, that great changes will abide their time, and that Mehemet Ali's real wisdom lies just in this: that he does *only*, what his times, and the state of the nation under his rule, permit; that he proceeds with as *much* caution as vigor, and never allows himself to be misled from his firm and well-considered plans by the praise or blame, either of theorists or habitual pedants.

I had the gratification of meeting, at Cairo, a man whose views coincided entirely with mine, and whose judgment outweighs that of a host of every day travellers, I allude to Professor Schubert, of Munich, who acknowledged in terms of the deepest respect the greatness of the ruler who has given Egypt a new life, and who would have also inspired it with a soul, had not the power of Europe

arbitrarily overthrown him in the midst of his career.

To return however to the fellahs, I believe that to make them rich, or to place them in the same position as the peasants in Holstein or Altenburg, would be a matter of impossibility to the greatest statesman that ever lived, and with the best will in the world, for as soon as these children of nature have earned the indispensable necessities of life, like the Lazzaroni they lie down in the sun, and will do nothing unless actually forced to work. Even at the time at which I am writing, when they need never want employment, if they choose to accept it, I see innumerable instances of this unbounded idleness, and carelessness about the future. They have been always like this, and of course always wretchedly poor, with this difference, that in former times they were engaged in thieving and pilfering, whilst now they dare not any longer carry on this trade. If it be possible to reform them, Mehemet Ali has chosen the proper way to do it, by constituting himself, not the sole proprietor, as has been falsely asserted, but the sole manager of the cultivation of all the arable

land in his dominions, and thereby forced the fellah's to work the fertile soil for him, as well as for their own living, as was formerly done in the same realm by Joseph of blessed memory. The monopoly, introduced by the Viceroy, was certainly a hard measure, but the object which he had in it was nevertheless a beneficial one, because he believed that in this way even the laziest, would, by the force of common interest, be compelled to work. Experience having however proved that the means after all were not well chosen, this system has also been abandoned, and during my stay at Cairo, the Viceroy not only gave up his claim to all the arrears due, but even repaid out of his treasury, ten millions of piastres, (about £100,000 British), to those who had been compelled to make up the deficits of others.

I have already mentioned, that he also raised the wages of all those who worked voluntarily at the public buildings, and whose number is very considerable, half a piastre a day. At the same time he decreed, that in the payment of the produce, which is annually, to be delivered by the fellahs, there should not be, as had been hitherto the case, any deduc-

tion made on account of former debts, but that they should be paid in full, and in cash; and he even, of his own accord, raised the prices of the produce itself, a measure which enabled the poorer classes, in several villages, to accumulate so much money, that salesmen from Cairo undertook commercial trips to those places on speculation, and found there a rapid sale for their goods. This certainly must sound incredible to those who have formed their ideas of the Oriental Despot from articles "from private correspondents," which are generally derived from the impurest sources, but it is nevertheless strictly true, and guaranteed to me by the authority of many trustworthy individuals, amongst the natives, as well as amongst the foreigners established in this country.

One of the greatest difficulties the Viceroy had to contend with being the rapacity and venality of his underlings, the evil consequences of which are by short-sighted travellers all laid to the door of the ruler himself, he tried to replace the Turkish civil authorities throughout the country, by Arabians. The result has however fallen so far short of his expectations that he will probably have to

restore the former, who, as one of my informants expressed it, thieved with greater decency than the latter.

Mehemet Ali is fully sensible of this grand evil in his administration, but its universality, as well as some political obstacles created by the uncertainty of his position towards the Porte and Europe, render its extirpation extremely difficult. A radical reform is perhaps only to be obtained for the rising generation, by the better education of youth; and the extraordinary things he has accomplished in this respect, in which he has done comparatively more than any other sovereign of his age, I shall take occasion by and bye to shew in some future chapter of this work, in which I shall also have opportunities of bringing forward indisputable facts, to prove that Mehemet Ali *intended* to effect a thorough reform in the East, and was urged thereto by higher objects than those of mere selfishness and avarice, at least up to the time when his efforts were impeded, and when to a man of his oriental nature and peculiar views of life, little more than the gratification of personal interest was left. Such is my firm conviction,

without being at all blind to the faults and errors of this extraordinary man.

Certain European critics will assuredly not fail to drag me again before their tribunal, for what I have stated here. Pseudo ultra liberals, who are accustomed to blow hot and cold in the same breath, and who once devoutly crossed themselves and lifted up their eyes in astonishment to heaven, because I found the English aristocracy ridiculous, although many of its members invited me to their dinners and their balls, when I was in England, will not miss this opportunity to assail me on the most opposite and unworthy grounds; and as they always attribute vile and interested motives to others, because they judge of all mankind by themselves, they will doubtlessly continue to affirm, that I praise and uphold Mehemet Ali for the sole reason, that he has lavished favours and honours on me. But I am quite indifferent as to what motives are ascribed to me in this matter. My vocation is, to state the truth as I find it, regardless of the manner in which it is received, or whether one party feels flattered or the other annoyed at it. Armed with this principle, I have had the good fortune more than

once, to find my ideas, which had at first been assailed most violently, soon confirmed by the sequel. I have only to point to the one fact, that I have been treated by the Government of Greece in the same obliging and respectful manner as in Egypt; and though I feel towards it equal gratitude, this consideration has not deterred me from speaking the truth there as well as here, although my opinions were by no means as favourable to the government or the state of Greece.* This will at least prove my unbiassed candour, and to a greater merit I do not wish to lay claim.

* Whether the late revolution will improve the state of affairs there, time only can shew. The revolution itself has proved the correctness of my statements with regard to the previous condition of the country.—*Note by the Author.*

CHAPTER IV.

NAPOLEON AT ROCHFORT.

I DEDICATED several days to a close inspection of the arsenal and fleet, but before I enter upon a description of them I cannot refrain from inserting an episode which concerns my amiable guide in those visits, and which I owe to my good fortune which in a short time won for me the friendship of that excellent man, who placed in my hands a memoir containing the narrative in question, giving me at the same time permission to publish it, a favour he had hitherto invariably refused to the pressing solicitations of the most eminent public men. This manuscript gives a more distinct account of a still obscure passage in Napoleon's history,

namely, his stay at Rochfort, than we have hitherto had, and than is to be found in the works of Las Cases, Norvins, Capefigues and others.*

It will be seen clearly by it that if Napoleon had to end his existence in mortal agonies at St. Helena, this was by no means a consequence of the insurmountable difficulty of his escape from France ; but was owing, on the one hand, to the intrigues of the small *camarilla* by whom he was surrounded at Rochfort, and who, with a few exceptions, were unwilling to sacrifice themselves for the Emperor, having only their own interests and their own risks in view ; and on the other hand, to the generosity of Napoleon himself, who scorned to expose those whom he considered his faithful followers, to the possible fate of a perhaps ignominious death, even to save his own life. Lastly, the romantic idea which he singularly enough formed of English magnanimity, may, also, have had its share in it. The Emperor's

* This was written in 1837, and what may have been since published on the subject is unknown to me.

fame has, however, lost nothing by it. The termination of his great career seems now infinitely more tragical, and secures for him more of the sympathy of posterity up to his latest moments, than if he had vanished imperceptibly in England or America from the prosaic existence of a private gentleman. The force of circumstances rendered it impossible for him ever to appear actively again on the stage, and fortune consummated its favours by granting him all that it could now grant him, a grand and striking end and a fame unblemished, notwithstanding his severe trials—sufficient for him who desired to live only for posterity.

In the following narrative, I have confined myself to the task of a faithful translation, as the simple, manly, and unaffected language of Besson, would only lose by any addition or embellishment of mine, although he merely makes allusion here to some things which he filled up verbally with stronger colouring ; but which he did not authorise me to commit to writing. The intelligent reader will, however, be at no loss to supply the omissions.

“ The Emperor,” relates Besson, “ arrived at

Rochfort early on the morning of the third of July. I was ship's Lieutenant, and attached to the corps of Marines. As I soon perceived that the commander of the two frigates, which had been placed by the provisional government at the disposal of the Emperor, showed but little inclination to commit himself in order to fulfil a sacred duty, that is to say, to risk all, even life itself, to save his Majesty from his enemies ; I quickly came to the resolution, to take his place, and to propose to the Emperor to convey him to the United States of America, in one of my father-in-law's ships,* which had been sent to me, in the beginning of the year 1815. I was, therefore, obliged to communicate my whole project to my wife, and her reply fully answered my expectations, " The Emperor," she said without hesitation, " is in such a situation, that it would be the highest honour for any man to extricate him from it. Offer him the fastest sailer of my father's three vessels, and take the command of it yourself,

* Besson was married to the daughter of a rich Dane.

should his Majesty wish it. As regards me, do not be under any anxiety on my account, although I am fully aware that everything will be done to alarm me. I am ready to suffer anything, rather than throw any impediment in the way of your accomplishing so great an object."

I then went, without delay, to Marshal Bertrand, whom I had had the honour of knowing previously, and communicated my ideas to him. The same evening I was introduced to the Emperor, who accepted my proposal, after making a few unimportant modifications in it, upon which I immediately drew up a *pro forma* contract, respecting the cargo, with Count Las Cases. No other remuneration was claimed by me for the shippers, than reimbursement of the costs of the expedition. M. Bonnefoie, Maritime Prefect of the fifth Arrondissement, also gave me his consent, and I received from this worthy functionary, whose conduct in this whole affair was as noble and generous, as in all the other actions of his life, an official order, to comply entirely with the wishes of the Emperor, to convey him, if he desired it, to the United States, and then to return to France, to report the success of my enterprize.

The following was my hastily conceived project.

The *Magdalene*, built under the Danish flag at Kiel, in 1812, in order to act against the English cruisers in the Baltic, had taken in a cargo of brandy, consigned to America. She was provided with a double set of ship's papers, the one for Kiel, the other for New York. In the ship's hold there had been stowed, between two rows of brandy casks, five empty casks, which had been so prepared as to conceal five persons in them, in case of a search being made. In the cabin under the English chimney there was a trap-door communicating with the hold, which was provided with provisions sufficient to last for five days. Fresh air was conveyed into the casks by means of cleverly concealed tubes, which had their exit under the berths in the cabin. The ship, arranged in this manner, was to have proceeded to the Island of Aix, and to have anchored amongst some small vessels, which were waiting there for a favourable breeze.

Here the necessary luggage of the passengers would have been put on board twenty-four hours before their embarkation; and after all, had been thus arranged, the vessel would have set sail, and in order to leave the *Perthuis Breton*, would have taken the direction of the

Island of Noirmontier, passing between the coast and the Island of Aix, and thence would have sailed to Quersant, her point of entrance into the sea.

By following this direction, it would have been almost impossible not to escape, for the English still lay before the Gironde, at the entrance of the Perthuis d' Antioche, just at the opposite side. The sequel confirmed the probable success of this plan, for the Magdalene took that route in the fullest security ; *one day only before* the fatal embarkation of the Emperor, on board the Bellerophon, and during the whole passage *did not meet a single cruizer of the enemy !*

As soon as the plan, as above described, had been definitively accepted, Marshal Bertrand gave orders to Count Las Cases to accelerate everything that might be required for its execution. Messrs. Roy, Brie, and Co., of Rochfort, agreed to freight the vessel, and give the necessary shipping documents. I took all the rest upon myself, and to excite less suspicion, I disguised myself as the captain of a merchant vessel from the north. My success was complete, for General Becker only learnt that I belonged to the French navy when the Em-

peror went on board the *Bellerophon*, and it was on that occasion that he said to me : “ Captain, I am sorry that you should have so gravely compromised yourself by your zeal ; your plan, I must confess, was deserving of a better fate.”

There was so much activity employed about these preparations, that I was enabled to leave Rochfort on the morning of the sixth of July, and went to Marines, where I took on board the brandy required for the freighting of the *Magdalene*.

On the tenth I reached the Island of Aix, where I heard that the Emperor was on board the frigate *Saale*, whose commander, Captain Philibert, had entirely deserted his cause, declaring, that the presence of an English vessel at the entrance of the *Perthuis d’Antioche* placed an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the Emperor’s departure ; for he, the Captain, had strict orders not to expose his frigate and her crew to the risk of an uncertain contest in order to save the Emperor’s person. Captain *Pomée*, Commander of the frigate *Medusa*, behaved very differently. This brave man offered the Emperor to take him on board, and to save him or perish in the attempt ; adding, that he might certainly be sunk, but

that he pledged him his word of honour, he would never surrender. This magnanimous offer had no better fate than mine, as will be seen hereafter; and the only motive which prevented the Emperor accepting it, was his objection to expose those who had followed his fortunes to so uncertain a fate.

His Majesty left the frigate *Saale* at nine o'clock in the evening.

I was summoned the same night before the Emperor, and was received by his Majesty with much kindness. He commanded me to embark immediately all his luggage, and that of the persons of his retinue. I commenced this task at ten o'clock at night, and at midnight all was completed. I may here mention a circumstance which was near costing me my life. Every point of the island was strictly watched, and especially the one opposite to where the *Magdalene* was anchored. I had purposely fixed the spot of our embarkation, at fifty paces from a marine post to lull suspicion, and had therefore requested Count Bertrand to give notice to the commander of the post in question, to pay no attention to any noise, that he might hear between ten and twelve o'clock that night. Feeling sure that after

this we could carry on our operations without interruption, we all went lustily to work ; but we had scarcely taken a small portion of the luggage on board, when a fire of musketry was opened on us, which broke the arm of one of my Danes, who was standing close to me, and perforated our small boat like a sieve. I immediately jumped on shore at the risk of being shot, and rushed to the post, where I soon put matters to rights. *No one there had received notice*, and the good people hearing us talk German, had mistaken it for English, and consequently given us the benefit of a volley.

Shortly after midnight, I proceeded to the Emperor, to inform him, that *all was ready and the wind favourable for sailing*. His Majesty replied, that for that night his departure was impossible, as he still expected King Joseph ; “ go down stairs,” he added, “ and see Bertrand. He will communicate to you a new plan, give him your opinion about it and then return to me.”

The Emperor displayed great calmness, but appeared thoughtful ; I make this remark only to give a contradiction to the publications of that period, which asserted generally, that

Napoleon slept constantly at Rochfort, and was rendered so nervous by his situation, that he could not make up his mind to take any resolution. On the contrary I did not find him in the least nervous or agitated. Taking snuff, as was his habit, and listening attentively to what was said to him; he appeared to me to look upon the tragical complication of his situation with too much indifference. "What a misfortune, Sire," said I, before leaving, "that your Majesty cannot depart to-day! The Rade des Basques is free of your enemies. The Perthuis Bretons are open—who knows whether they will continue so to-morrow."

Alas, those words were prophetic! *Yet on the twelfth, the English were still ignorant of the Emperor's arrival at Rochfort*, which was only made known to them by the visit of the Duke de Savary and Count Las Cases to the Bel-lerophon. This is proved incontestibly by the fact of their remaining up to that time, at the entrance of the Gironde and the Perthuis d'Antioche, in order to impede any attempt at flight by the frigates, which lay at anchor in the harbour of the Isle of Aix. On the same evening, however, on which they were informed of the Emperor's arrival by the

above named gentlemen, *the Bellerophon immediately left her position, to anchor in the Rade des Basques!* the position certainly which she ought to have originally taken, in order to watch both entrances at the same time.

I left the Emperor and went down to Count Bertrand, who told me, that several young officers, amongst whom was Lieutenant Gentil, had come to propose to the Emperor, to embark him at Rochelle on board an open boat, and to convey him in it as far as the mouth of the Riviere de Bourdeaux, passing the strait of Monmousson, where an American vessel was lying, in which the Emperor might obtain a passage to America, or which in case of refusal, might be seized by force. There were in fact, several American vessels near Royan, which had been visited by General L'Allemand, and whose captains had offered their services to His Majesty.

As I knew very well the gallant young men who made the offer, and whose names deserve to be handed down to posterity, (Mons. Douvet, *enseigne de vaisseau*, and knight of the legion of honour, a young man full of spirit and devotedly attached to honour and to his Emperor; Condé, cadet of the first class,

and worthy in every respect to follow in the footsteps of his gallant father, Comander Condé, and Gentil, a gallant officer, who had served during the whole of the Peninsular war, in the *Marins de la garde*.) I replied to the Marshal, that I felt convinced, that Heaven itself pointed out a certain means of escape to His Majesty, and that immediate advantage should be taken of the offer, as circumstances seemed all to combine to bring about a happy result.

“What do you mean by that?” exclaimed the Marshal with surprise.

“I will explain myself more clearly,” I replied. “The two sloops from Rochelle are excellent sailers ; better, no doubt, than the English cruisers. They must be sent off, one, through the Strait of Monmousson : the other, through the Perthuis d’Antioche, with some of the suite and baggage of the Emperor on board of both ; and let it be so managed, that the crew of each sloop remains in ignorance as to who is on board the other. It will only be necessary to give separate orders to the commanders of these light vessels to go in search of the English cruisers, in order to get chased by them, and so draw them off as

far as possible ; in the mean while, we must spread a report here that Napoleon has embarked in one of these sloops, so as to make the crew of each believe that he is on board the other. This plan agreed upon, the sloops should be ordered to sail the next evening, and the Emperor could follow with me the morning after, by which means two more chances of escape would be afforded him. It is the more necessary, I added expressly, to take advantage of all these favourable circumstances, as it is probable that the enemy, who are still lying at the entrance of the Perthuis d'Antioche, in readiness to sail, are ignorant of the Emperor's presence, for if they knew it, they certainly would not neglect taking up a position in the Rades des Basques, so as to be able to watch both channels."

The Marshal seemed to concur in my opinion, and wishing to inform the Emperor directly of it, he took me up to him.

We found his Majesty leaning, with his elbow on a handsome, silver gilt dressing-case, a present from his spouse, Marie Louise, which his Majesty wished to keep by him till the last moment, and which was, therefore, almost the only thing that had not been put on board.

The Emperor looked up with a good humoured smile, and said—

“ Eh bien Bertrand que vous a dit le Capitaine Besson ?”

When all that I had said to the Marshal was repeated to him, he testified great satisfaction at my proposition, and immediately issued orders that some of the baggage of his suite and a quantity of provisions should be taken on board the sloops, that the report should be spread that he was about to embark in one of them, and that they should both set sail shortly before his own departure ; he then continued—

“ Je suis á present décidé á partir avec vous Capitaine dans la nuit du treize au quatorze.”

I saw with deep sorrow that this fresh delay would render all our preparations useless, and expressed my fears of the result but without success.

The days of the 11th and 12th were devoted to the sloops, and early on the 13th, they set sail, with their preconcerted instructions, and met with no obstruction, although the Bellerophon, after the visit which she had, in the meanwhile, received from the Duke de Savary and the Count Las Cases, had, on the evening of the

12th, taken up her new position in the Rades des Basques. On the 13th, at day-break, M. Marchand came on board to me, to deliver into my charge a leather belt, filled with gold, for the Emperor's use, and at the same time he brought me his Majesty's commands that I should repair instantly to him. It appeared that the small quantity of gold which the Emperor had with him, had been divided, and that M. Marchand had given a portion of it for safe keeping to each of the gentlemen about to embark with his Majesty. At seven o'clock I went to the Emperor, whom I found dressed, and walking up and down his room.

“ *Ah ! vous voila !* ” he exclaimed on my entrance, “ *les chaloupes sont parties á ce soir donc. Le sort en est jeté.* ” He then enquired whether I was perfectly sure I knew all this coast, placing his finger, at the same time on a map, of Poitou, with the island of Aix, &c., which was lying on the table. As I was on the point of replying, M. Marchand entered the room, and whispered something to the Emperor, upon which I was quickly sent away. As I went out, I met a person whom I had never seen before, and whom I afterwards understood, was King Joseph.

The whole of that day was spent in perfecting, as far as possible, the preparations for the journey, and as night approached, I was told that the gentlemen who had been again sent to the *Bellerophon*, had returned. There is no doubt that certain persons in Napoleon's suite, had, from an apprehension of being taken prisoner with him on board my vessel, finally induced him that very day to enter into serious negotiations with Captain Maitland, and that the answer of the latter had just arrived. I knew nothing of all this, but on the contrary, when shortly after dark, his Majesty again sent for me, I was filled with joy at being at length so near the accomplishment of my wishes.

As I entered the room, I found General Savary, Count Las Cases, Count Montholon, and a stranger, whose face was unknown to me, with the Emperor. "Captain," said his Majesty to me, "you must go immediately on board your vessel and land all my effects again. I thank you sincerely for all that you proposed doing for me, and if it were to deliver an oppressed people, as was my intention on leaving the Island of Elba, I would not hesitate a moment to trust myself to you, but the only question now being my personal safety, I will

not expose those who have remained faithful to me, and who wish to share my fortunes and dangers, which, to say the least, are unnecessary. I am determined to go to England, and will embark to-morrow on board the *Bellerophon*."

If I had been suddenly dashed to the earth by a thunder bolt, issuing unexpectedly from a serene sky, it could not have affected me more dreadfully than these last words of the Emperor. I felt the blood receding from my cheeks, my eyes filled with tears, and I stood rooted to the spot unable to utter a single syllable in reply ; I saw what the consequences would be as clearly as if they were gospel truths that lay exposed before me. I could not help feeling that the Emperor was dreadfully mistaken in his ideas of the magnanimity of the English government, and my mind was filled with a thousand melancholy forebodings. Had I not myself been for five long years the victim of that government, whose faith had never been other than Punic in its nature.*

* Captain Besson had been twice a prisoner in the dreadful English hulks, and the exasperation which he felt against that nation was therefore pardonable.

It was therefore not to be wondered at, that I should foresee so clearly what afterwards took place.

“To England, sire!” I at length cried in a half choked voice, “to England! then you are lost. The Tower of London will be your abode, and you may esteem yourself happy if the result be not worse. Your Majesty will surrender yourself, bound hands and feet, to a treacherous cabinet, that will exult at being able to annihilate him who has wounded it so deeply and who has even threatened its very existence. You, sire, the only enemy it has to dread, are about to deliver yourself into its power, voluntarily and without necessity? Sire—” God knows what I would have added in my despair, if General Savary, who stood at the end of the saloon, had not interrupted me in a stern manner with his sonorous voice, and imposed silence on me.

“Captain,” said he, “you allow yourself too much liberty. Do not entirely forget in whose presence you are.”

“*Oh! laissez le parler,*” said the Emperor, with a sorrowful look that cut me to the very soul. Yet when I had partly recovered my composure, I soon perceived how fruitless

would have been any further remonstrance on my part.

“Your pardon, sire,” continued I, “if I have said too much, but I was thunderstruck at the resolution to which you have come, and I am now only able to ask your Majesty’s forbearance. But as to you, Duke,” I added, addressing the latter. “I, at least, beg that you will order the sentries not to fire upon me again to night as it would be rather hard for me to be hit by a French bullet in the act of re-landing effects, which I would have exposed my life ten times over to disembark in America.”

“Go, Captain, and compose yourself,” said the Emperor, gently, “and when you have done so, come here again.”

I did as I was commanded, though in the most comfortless state of mind; and on the evening of the fourteenth of July, when all had been accomplished, I again visited the Emperor as invited. I found him alone with M. Marchand, who might justly be styled the personification of fidelity, and without whose kind offices the Emperor would not, perhaps, have been accessible to me, for the reign of intrigue had already obtained the same firm sway on

the Island of Aix as previously at the Tuilleries. I need only allude to one fact in proof of this.

The persons who were to have embarked with the Emperor on board the *Magdelene*, were Marshal Bertrand, Count Las Cases and General Montholon. The two latter were only triflingly compromised with the king's government, and had therefore nothing to fear while General L'Allemand had already been sentenced to death.

Notwithstanding his danger, this deserving officer could not succeed in obtaining permission to accompany the Emperor, the strongest influence being used to prevent him accomplishing his object, and he entreated me at last to give him a passage amongst my crew, disguised as a sailor, and thus afford him a chance of saving his life.

As soon as the Emperor saw me enter, he came up to me and said,

“ Captain, I again take this opportunity of thanking you for your services. As soon as you can get away from here, come to England, I may be in want there” he added smiling, “ of a person of your character.”

“ Ah ! sire,” I replied, sorrowfully, “ would that I could entertain even the slightest hope that the day will come, when I shall be called upon to obey so flattering a command.”

Being unable to control my feelings, I wanted hastily to withdraw, when the Emperor beckoned to me to remain, and sending out M. Marchand to look for Marshal Bertrand, he took from some arms, intended for his own private use, and which lay in a corner of the room, a double-barrelled gun which he had long used, and presenting it to me, he said in an agitated tone,

“ Je n'ai plus rien dans ce moment a vous offrir, mon ami, que cette arme. Veuillez l'accepter comme un souvenir de moi ?”

This present, so inestimable to me, and the indescribable affability with which it was made, induced me, finding myself alone with the Emperor, to make a last attempt to induce him to change his purpose.

I threw myself at his feet, and with tears implored him by all that the most melancholy conviction inspired me with, not to give himself up to the English, as no time had been lost as yet, and I would engage, in two hours' time, to put him and all his luggage again on board

my vessel, upon which he could himself follow immediately. It required only a determination, on his part, to ensure the success of the plan. All was in vain.

“ Well, sire,” exclaimed I rising.

The marshal, who had returned in the interim, here interrupted me.

“ Captain, desist from your useless endeavours,” he sharply exclaimed, “ your zeal is praiseworthy, your conduct noble, but his majesty *cannot now recede.*”

This might well have been the case, and I therefore swallowed what I had on my tongue.

“ Nothing more remains for me to do than to take my leave, sire, and to sail in the same vessel which was destined for your majesty’s reception. I shall follow exactly the same route that you approved of, and time will, I fear, soon prove to your majesty, *which of the two it would have been the safest for you to pursue.*”

With a sinking heart I then withdrew and returned on board. It was now ten o’clock at night. I immediately weighed anchor, and started with a fresh easterly breeze, *without meeting with any obstruction.*

By daybreak I found myself at the entrance of the Perthuis Breton, in the midst of the *caboteurs*.*

It is necessary to observe, that the Emperor only embarked at five o'clock on the morning of the 15th, in the Epervier.

He arrived on board the Bellerophon, at nine the same morning.

I had therefore, long before this, pursued my course unnoticed among the *caboteurs*, and it was only, when I found myself opposite the Sables d'Olonnes, that I took leave of my captain, giving him directions to proceed through the English Channel to Quersant and Kiel, where he arrived, after a safe passage of twenty days, without, as I have already mentioned, having been once visited, or otherwise molested by a single English cruiser.

I returned to Rochfort in one of the coasting vessels, and went to the maritime prefect to receive his orders. He told me that by the desire of the Emperor, he had kept by him, up to the last moment, two chests of plate, to be

* Coasting vessels.

delivered to Madam Besson, in case the Emperor went with me.

As his majesty had, however, taken another resolution, he had thought fit to send these cases, together with a few others, which had been entrusted to him by Napoleon, on board the Bellerophon. In fact those were the identical plate chests, the sale of which served to supply the Emperor's most pressing wants at St. Helena.

I myself, however, never dreamed that his majesty would have carried his consideration so far, as even to think of my wife's fate, in case my plan had been carried into execution.

My first interview with Madam Besson was a sad one ! We were a long time before we could mutually find words to express our grief. The Emperor's unfortunate resolve had not only destroyed him for ever, but it had irrevocably sealed my own fate, and in fine, I became the victim of my own voluntary acts.

Dismissed, as unworthy to serve the new government, I found myself obliged to quit my native country, leaving my wife, who had

fallen ill from the excitement of the last few days alone at Rochfort, where she remained for a considerable time exposed to all sorts of vexations.

Nothing was spared to annoy her, and she was at length driven by the persecutions of the police to Bordeaux, where she found an opportunity of embarking for Kiel. There we for the first time met again in December 1816.

Since that period I have wandered about in foreign countries, without venturing to approach France again, until the year 1826, when his Highness the Viceroy of Egypt sent me to Marseilles, to man the ships of war which General Livron had built there for him.

From that time dates the period of my services in Egypt, services, which Mehemet Ali has most generously rewarded, and happy should I deem myself, if my activity, my good will and my deep devotion to the extraordinary man, to whom Providence has conducted me, should contribute to render me still more worthy of his favours."

The reader will not lay aside this simple narrative without feelings of the most lively

sympathy for the principal actors in it, the great Emperor and the gallant Besson, although the fact cannot be disguised, that after having hunted about for years, and harassed and exhausted, the old hero no longer possessed that firmness of resolution which as General Bonaparte had raised him to his high position. But neither had he then become intoxicated by the atmosphere of a court, which imperceptibly weakens the soundest head, even when it does not corrupt the heart.

Providence has however, in this instance, as in all others, decreed for the best, and Besson may comfort himself with this reflection. The Emperor would certainly, had the latter conveyed him to America, been spared the bitter cup of a few years misery ; but his fame, as I have before said, would have sustained deep injury if he had obscurely terminated his career in private life. It was more fitting that he should die the prisoner of Europe on the rock of St. Helena.

Napoleon's admirers ought therefore to rejoice, that events have not turned out differently ; it is the English alone who have reason to lament, that Besson's bold plan miscarried,

for its success would have spared them one of the ignominious pages of their history.*

* Eight months after the above was written, on my return from a fatiguing and dangerous journey in the deserts of Africa, I found that Besson, whom I had left in the full enjoyment of life, was already in his grave. His manuscript is all that is left to me as authority for the above passage of his for many other reasons, very remarkable career.—*Note by the Author.*

CHAPTER V.

THE NEW ARSENAL.

WHEN you enter the Arsenal for the first time and inspect that colossal establishment, with its solid and beautifully erected buildings, in their whole immense extent—an establishment which is inferior to few of the same kind in Europe, and which, in some things, even surpasses them—when you see ships of the largest size in progress of construction there, and a long row of warehouses filled with everything necessary for the equipment of a double number of the same sized vessels---when you are then told that eight years since the waves were rolling over the same spot, and that the whole

of the splendid fleet which now fills the harbour, issued from that very arsenal; you are almost disposed to believe that you are listening to a fairy tale. If in addition you are told that these miracles of intelligence and industry have been effected in a land of the most complete barbarism, and in which, at the period referred to, there were scarcely any of the means required for their accomplishment, by the steady will of one man only, and in direct opposition to the opinions of his countrymen, your wonder must increase, and you cannot but own, that since the days of Peter the Great no European sovereign has been able to accomplish a similar feat in the same space of time. Mehemet Ali's bold spirit does not however rest here, for he is just now engaged in almost as gigantic an undertaking, namely, in taking from the sea and its shifting sands, of a depth of one hundred feet, a dock for his whole fleet, capable of being laid dry at will. The immense vessels, filled with stones, which are now constructing in the dockyards for the purpose of sinking, and of which a great many have already been sunk, are almost the size of men of war. The probability of success is almost universally

doubted, but Mehemet Ali himself has no fears on the subject, for like Napoleon, there is no such word in his vocabulary as "impossible." One of the foreign consuls endeavoured to dissuade him from this project, saying—

"Your Highness is only flinging your money into the sea."

"Allah Kherim," replied the Viceroy, "for many years I have done nothing but that."

And indeed Mehemet Ali has always been obliged to pay dearly for his experience before he has attained his object, but the fact that he is never discouraged by failure, and always begins anew, has made him the great man he is. To one of my friends who reproached him with constantly allowing himself to be deceived and cheated by ignorant quacks and adventurers, he returned the following remarkable answer :---

"I know," he said, "that among fifty men, who come from Europe, to offer me their services, forty-nine are only to be compared to false stones. Without testing them however, I cannot discover the only genuine diamond, that may be among them. I begin by buying them all, and when I discover the true one,

he often repays me by a hundredfold the loss I have incurred by the others." Such a genuine diamond, the Viceroy found in Besson Bey, and formerly in Mr. Cerisy.

Mehemet Ali had, already, expended more than a million of money and a year's time on his arsenal, when the latter distinguished Frenchman arrived at Alexandria, provided only with a few introductions. He was presented to the Viceroy, who, immediately after the first interview, commissioned him to examine the new building, and report to him, his opinion about it. Cerisy, who was very sincere, and rather abrupt in his manners, made the short, but pithy report, that everything that had been constructed until then, was good for nothing; and that, even the spot selected for the arsenal, was totally unfit for such a purpose. It may readily be imagined, what interests such a decision would offend—what intrigues it would call forth! Mehemet Ali, without being annoyed by it, ordered M. Cerisy, to explain the matter fully to him, in a detailed memoir; and, at the same time, to lay before him, a new plan of building, according with his own notions. After having carefully examined the latter, and convinced himself of the superiority of the

Frenchman's ideas, he immediately had the old building pulled down—blotted from his memory, the sums uselessly expended on it, and immediately commenced the new one. Here he had, as it were, to create both sea and land; but nothing could impede the Viceroy. The basin was excavated, the necessary earth was provided, and, in four years' time, several of the largest sized men-of-war, were launched from the new, and now completed arsenal; which, like these vessels, might be said to have been almost created out of nothing. These are traits worthy of a great reformer; of a man who lives for a grand idea, and for one only; and, who is not to be deterred from the accomplishment of his plans, by any sort of difficulty; affording, unfortunately, but too marked a contrast to the want of decision, and the paltry considerations and means, which so often prevail in antiquated Europe, and which prevent us from improving our present stationary condition.

Not to overlook, however, the dark side of the picture, it cannot be denied, that Mehemet Ali's too great impatience of character, has done him much injury in the prosecution of his schemes, and will do him still more. Cerisy was

obliged, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances, to construct his ships with wood that was too new; in consequence of which, the whole fleet carries in itself, the germs of premature decay. The Viceroy was not blind to this result, but he persuaded Cerisy to comply, by telling him,

“I want those ships, and must have them soon! When once they have done their service—as I hope they will—I shall not mind their rotting twenty years before their time.”

Fate has not fulfilled that hope; but it cannot be affirmed, that it was owing to Mehemet Ali's own fault.

It is not my intention here, to give a detailed description of the arsenal—as this kind of establishment is sufficiently known, and it must resemble more or less, all others of its class. I shall only make a remark or two, about a few things that particularly struck me. Amongst them, is the admirably fitted up rope manufactory—which equals in size, that of Toulon, and surpasses it in the completeness of its arrangements. Here may be seen in use, the ingenious machine, for winding ropes, recently invented by a Frenchman, the working of which, seems to me, to be by

no means inferior, either in velocity or efficiency, to the best English machines of the same description.

As regards order, and scrupulous cleanliness, as well in the warehouses, as in the workshops; the French arsenals, that I have seen, are decidedly inferior to this. As an excellent regulation, I may just mention, that after working hours, all tools and implements, used during the day, must be hung up on the walls and pillars, in divers, regularly established and exceedingly neat designs, (as is done in the decoration of armories), by the workmen, before they are allowed to leave the place. This not only forms an elegant decoration, but has also, this advantage, that the implements can never be lost or mislaid, without their absence being immediately discovered. For this, as well as many other useful arrangements, the arsenal is chiefly indebted to the 'unceasing attention of General Besson, who has, worthily, replaced the, for Egypt, immortal Cerisy.

In the warehouses, with the exception of the superior nautical and mathematical instruments, there are but few articles of European manufacture to be found. Arms, paper, clothing,

linen, leather, and cloth, (the latter, partly produced from cotton) are all obtained from Egyptian manufactories, established by the Viceroy.

When I visited the arsenal, three vessels of the line were in progress of construction in the docks, which the climate of this country, permits to be left uncovered. Several antique granite pillars, and Egyptian figures, had been tastefully introduced in the walls of these docks, a fact worthy of mention, as a proof of the progress of Moslem civilization, as regards the fine arts.

THE FLEET.

The effective naval force of Egypt, in the year 1837, consisted of the following vessels of the Line :—

	GUNS AND CARRONADES.	POUNDERS.	MEN.
Acre, - -	104	30	1,200
Massrs, - -	104	-	1,200
Mohallet el Kubra	100	-	1,150
Skander, -	100	-	1,150
<hr/> Carried over, 408			<hr/> 4,700

GUNS AND CARBONADES. POUNDS. MEN.

Brought over, -	408	-	30	4,700
Mansurah, -	100	-	-	1,150
Iloms, -	100	-	-	1,150
Beleng, -	96	-	-	1,000
Abukir, -	82	-	-	950

FRIGATES.

Avadalla, -	64	-	-	600
Rashid, -	60	-	24	580
Beherah -	60	-	-	580
Mufta-dshehad	60	-	-	580
Dshir-dshehad -	60	-	-	580
Kaffershak -	60	-	-	580
Damiat, -	54	-	-	500

SCHOONERS.

Tantah, -	24	Carron.	30	200
Dshena-Bacharih, -	24	-	-	190
Belenghi-dshehad,	22	-	18	190
Dshehad-Beker, -	22	-	-	190

BRIGS.

Shaika, -	18	16	120
Washmyton, -	18	-	100
Semendi-dshehad, -	18	-	100
Bedi-dshehad, -	16	-	100
Scheinderi, -	16	-	90
Theinsach, -	16	12	90
Shabas-dshehad, -	14	16	90
<hr/>		<hr/>	
1412		14.410	

GUNS AND CARRONADES.		POUNDERS.	MEN
Brought over	1412	- 16	14,410
Cutter, - -	10	- -	50
Steamer Nile,	- 4	- 30	} 150
	2	Paixhan Guns.	
	<hr/>	- -	<hr/>
	1,428	- -	14,610
Crew of armed transports,		-	1,080
Ship-carpenters, workmen in the Ar- senal, &c. - - -	- - -	- -	4,500
			<hr/>
Men Total		-	20,190

N.B.—The whole of the *employés* in the Arsenal are organised as military workmen, and in case of need, know how to work the guns.

SHIPS WHICH ARE STILL IN THE DOCKS.

Vessels of the Line, No. 9 - 100 gs. & car. at 30				
11 - 80	-	-	-	-
11 - 100	-	-	-	-
12 - -	-	-	-	-

Of the latter, all the parts are completed, but it is not ready to be put together.

Three first class frigates are in the same state of forwardness, each of 64 carronades, 30 pounds.*

Rassetin's naval school, which is connected with the Arsenal, contains one thousand, two

* Two years later all these were finished.

hundred pupils, who are instructed, clothed, and entirely maintained, at the expense of the Government, each of them receiving, in addition, a monthly stipend of from twenty to one hundred piastres !

These pupils become members of the navy, and sometimes, also, of the naval administration.

There are, also, two purely naval schools, the number of whose pupils has not as yet been fixed, on board the vessels of the line, Acre and Mansurah. The conditions are the same, with this difference, that each pupil receives a monthly stipend of one hundred piastres. Amongst them is the Viceroy's son, Said Bey, who receives the same sum, just as the present King of France once received a stipend, as a professor at Auch.

The sailors are provided for in the following manner. Each sailor has a yearly allowance, from Government, of three complete suits, viz :—

- 1 of common stuff, for working dress,
- 1 fine suit, for holidays,
- 1 overcoat, for the winter,
- 2 Tarboosh (Fez)
- 4 shirts,
- 4 pair of shoes,
- Sufficient soap to wash his clothes.

The sailors are divided into four classes :—

The first class receives, 30 piastres monthly.

Second, - - 25 - -

Third - - 20 - -

Fourth - - 15 - -

(The last consists of recruits.)

The *Mestranee* is paid in the same proportion.

The provisions consist of the most appropriate and wholesome food, and the allowance to each man is quite sufficient for two persons. His Highness provides, besides, for all the male children of the seamen, and grants them, from the moment of their birth, a full allowance of provisions, the same as to the father, as well as five piastres a month in money.

The invalids of the navy are sent back to their respective homes, where they receive a monthly pension of thirty piastres, and are at the same time employed as surveyors in the different public establishments ; so that those, who are still able to work, can combine the pay of this occupation with their pensions.

OFFICERS OF THE NAVY.

Mustapha Pasha, who is Commander-in-Chief of the whole of the naval forces, has at present the rank of temporary Admiral ; but is in

reality only Vice-Admiral or Lieutenant General.

The Vice-Admiral is also temporary, and only a *Miriliva* (*Marechal de camp*) and chief of the staff of the squadron. This is the post of Besson Bey. The Rear Admiral is also a *Miriliva* or *Marechal de camp*, and at the same time President of the Council of Marine, which gives him a considerable influence.

This post is occupied by Hassan Bey, a Turk, who has received an European education, and whom I shall have occasion to mention again.

Captains are divided into two classes. Those of the first class are Beys and have the rank of Majors in the army; those of the second of Lieutenant Majors.

The Captains of frigates are also divided into a first and second class. The former have the rank of *chef de bataillon*, the latter of Majors of the first class, and are at the same time employed as second class Captains of ships of the line, or as the commanding Captains of schooners.

Captains of brigs are Majors of the second class, and are also engaged as seconds of frigates or schooners without any difference.

The Lieutenants of vessels of the line are

also divided into first and second classes, they hold the rank of Captains, and serve as seconds for schooners and brigs.

The Lieutenants of frigates who are also divided into two classes, have the rank of first Lieutenants.

The Midshipmen of the first and second classes, have the rank of second Lieutenants.

These brief, but perfectly authentic notes, will suffice to give a correct idea of the naval power of Mehemet Ali. This added to what I have still to report in the course of this work, about the army, extent of territory, income and resources of the Egyptian—Nubian—and Syrian Empire, (as it then was) justifies me in the belief, that it would be an anomaly injurious to all parties, to keep a man who is *de facto* a powerful and independent monarch, in the nominal and degrading position of a dependent Pasha. On contemplating his great real power, it struck me that we have in Europe many kings, whose territories scarcely equal in extent one of the Pasha's provinces, and whose income does not amount to one tenth of the revenues of Mehemet Ali, besides other sovereigns who cannot compete with one of Mehemet Ali's

governors in power and wealth; as for instance, those of Candia, and Sudan, and a number of others whose only difference in personal and territorial importance from the English Dukes, is the addition of a sovereignty "by God's grace." An anomaly so unnatural as the present position of the Viceroy, must always lead to violent results; and it is not a wise policy to desire its continuance, even on the part of the Porte itself, which stands more in need of a powerful and independent friend, united by the ties of religion and interest, and having for a common object, the maintenance of Moslem power generally, than a dangerous and always hostile vassal (at least so long as his independence is not recognised) a vassal in name only, for in real, compact power he has already shown himself its superior.

CHAPTER VI.

VISIT TO THE FLEET.

IN a long, narrow, and very elegant little boat, resembling those of the Exclusives at Cowes, we were rowed from the arsenal to the Fleet, which being now entirely assembled, presented a most imposing appearance. We steered at once to the Admiral's vessel, where I intended paying my respects to Prince Said Bey, the Viceroy's second son.

Although still full of the impression, produced on me by the appearance of the English fleet at Malta and Zante, I found no material difference, (at least none that was perceptible to a landsman like myself,) between the vessels of both nations; in a few, though not very

important particulars, I even found here a superiority ; for instance, the extraordinary cleanliness and order observable in every part of the Egyptian vessels, as well as in the mode of putting up and arranging the arms, which are very judiciously, as I thought, divided through the whole of the ship, instead of being collected together in one large room, because in that way they can be got at quicker and easier ; also in a practically useful and novel disposition of protecting loop-holes on deck, a French invention, which I have no doubt will come into general use in new vessels. In the manœuvres, at which I was present, the difference was, however, greatly to the disadvantage of the Egyptians ; as on the one hand they seemed to be effected with much less precision, and on the other, double and even treble the time was consumed in most of their evolutions. This, however, is to be attributed less to the incapacity of the Arabian tars, who on the contrary seemed to me to possess all those qualities, which are requisite in good sailors, than to the manifest defects of the officers, from whose ranks Mehemet Ali has perhaps too soon excluded Europeans, a measure owing to the frequent misunderstand-

ings which have taken place between them. Without the few that still remain, amongst whom, the talents and zeal of M. Touset, aide-de-camp of General Besson, deserve especial mention, this splendid and colossal work would be in danger of as speedy a downfall, as its rise has been magical.

The Viceroy's real friends can only caution him against entrusting his countrymen too soon with the care of matters, for which they are not as yet fitted.*

Said Bey, who is being strictly brought up for the profession of the sea, is a young prince of affable character, and very promising qualities; and, under the guidance of General Besson, and his tutor, Mr. Koëinig, a man full of know-

* One cannot here refrain from considering what might have been the consequences, if at the commencement of the late war against Mehemet Ali, when the English had no more than eight or nine vessels of the line stationed in the Mediterranean, whilst the French had a considerably larger number; France had, with greater resolution, drawn the whole fleet of the Viceroy, (which at that time would have been increased by the Turkish deserters,) commanded by French officers, into battle: and

ledge and experience, and of the most honorable character, he has already assumed the manners of a European prince, and begins to feel and think like one. He is rather bashful however and it is only on becoming more intimate with him that his pleasing qualities are discovered. He speaks French fluently, and with a very slight accent, and also a little English. His amiable manners would, no doubt, ensure him a favorable reception in Europe, and he is most anxious to make a tour there, but an obstacle of an insurmountable and peculiar nature has hitherto opposed the gratification of his wishes. The Prince is exceedingly stout for a young man of his age, and his father will not allow him to shew himself in Europe until he has become

thus taking the lead, had attacked the English fleet, with nearly four times their number. It has often happened that a signal defeat, such as this might have been, has destroyed the *prestige*, which attaches to a great naval power, and that from that moment it has died a natural death.

One thing is certain, that the French will never again have such another opportunity. It is fortunate for the peace of the world, that they did not avail themselves of it.—*Note by the Author.*

thinner. I had an opportunity of speaking to the Viceroy on the subject, and did my best to induce him to change his mind, but to no purpose. Mehemet Ali answered, repeatedly, that he could not allow his son to travel in such unseemly proportions. "I have prescribed for the Prince a diet," he added, "which if he follows and gets thin will enable him to indulge his inclination for travel, but till that takes place I will not give my consent to his departure."

With this regimen poor Said Bey is not a little plagued, although it has not as yet conduced to any very beneficial result. He is weighed every week, and in the detailed report of the progress of his studies, which is sent regularly from here to Cairo, the hebdomadal scale must on no account be omitted; and an outbreak of temper is inevitable, if the pounds do not figure as *decrescendo*.

The safest way to rid the Prince of his superfluous corpulence, (which of course would be thought nothing of in Europe) would be to send him to England, and have him put in training by one of the jockeys there. In four weeks time he would be as slim as an eel, and more vigorous than he ever before felt.

Two young ladies from England, came lately to Egypt, and distributed prospectuses, wherein they promised, for a reasonable remuneration, to form the women in the harems on the European model, which improvement seemed, however, to find but little favor with the Moslem husbands. There is a much better chance of a fortune being made in the way I have just indicated, by any jockey who would at last enable Prince Said Bey to commence his great tour.*

In my first interview with Said Bey, our conversation ran almost entirely on commonplace subjects' later however I became more intimate with him, and found him of a merry disposition and full of spirits. He even once climbed up with me, for a wager, the rope-ladders of the Admiral's ship, where notwithstanding his corpulence he soon got ahead of me. Nevertheless, it occasioned surprise, (I trust my vanity will be forgiven the remark,)

* As Said Bey has since been to Constantinople to marry a Turkish Princess, it would appear that the paternal cure has at last succeeded: the marriage itself, however, has not taken place.

that I, without being a sailor, had managed to get on so well, and from that time, the Arabian tars always called me the *Prussian Admiral*, for the confirmation of which title I intend applying on the shores of the Spree, as soon as the national fleet of Germany is called into life. I heartily wish that this latter object may be effected with the same firm will and energy of purpose that has been displayed here, and with more of forethought and ability in the execution. The first Prussian man-of-war has already been launched; but why has it been called the “Amazon?” seeing that Amazons have no progeny!

A real ornament to the fleet is the steamer Nile, which was built in London, and which is in all respects equal to the Medea, acknowledged to be the finest steamer in the English navy, and kept in a perfect state of order by an English engineer. Several of the frigates, built in France, are also distinguished in their way. It was only among the smaller vessels like that in which I had come from Candia, and in which I had observed so much mismanagement, that anything like neglect was to be observed.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIETY, ENVIRONS.

I was delighted with Alexandria, and its European and African mixture of society. The foreign Consuls, who, generally speaking, take the lead in society here, live in this city, where the manners of large towns prevail, in far greater harmony, than in the other towns of the Levant and Barbary ; and the many foreigners, chiefly Frenchmen, in the service of the Viceroy, greatly increase and enliven the educated circles. As "*chef de bataillon*," and adjutant of Soliman Pasha's staff, Herr Von W—— formerly Chamberlain to the Duke of Lucca, whose wife was descended from a noble Han-

overian family, made a very dashing appearance. The splendour of affluence was in this house combined with the most perfect urbanity, but it is somewhat characteristic of the general levity of character, incident to society here, that all this terminated one fine morning in smoke, when many of the wealthiest capitalists of Alexandria, found to their horror, that the excellent dinners to which Herr Von W —— had daily invited them, had been paid for with the money he had borrowed from them. Of repayment there was not the least idea, and after much noise, the lenders were obliged to resign themselves to their losses, whilst Herr Von W —— changed Alexandria for a residence at Constantinople. Among the multitude of adventurers, there are however many respectable families established here; some of whom occupy handsome palaces, and live in corresponding style. Conspicuously among these must be mentioned the Swedish Consul General, Chevalier Anastasi, whose hospitable mode of living would be considered as evidence of wealth and good taste in any part of the world.

I must be permitted to add a few words respecting this worthy man, as I casually

formed a more intimate acquaintance with him, and I may here remark *en passant*, that it is to his liberality that the Egyptian museum at Berlin owes a very beautiful sarcophagus.

My readers, perhaps, remember my secretary, Theologides, whom I mentioned in the "Vorläufer." Theologides is the son of a niece of the Chevalier Anastasi, who formerly paid for his education, but was so irritated at the thoughtless conduct and reckless extravagance of his protégé, at Munich, that he at last withdrew his patronage from him altogether. He was thus reduced to the most lamentable condition, in which I met with him at Athens, and took him into my service, more from compassion than any need of his assistance; and chiefly in order to effect a reconciliation between him and his grand uncle, should it be possible, at Alexandria, which was then the place of my destination. It struck me as very odd that a celebrated diplomatic German professor, who made Theologides's acquaintance in Greece, and persuaded him to proceed to Germany, was, as my young protégé asserted, the chief cause, of his little *égaremens*. Theologides told me that he had advised him to draw as much money as he could, from

his generous relative at Trieste, for which place his letters of credit were made out, in order that he might secure to himself the disbursement of the whole expenses attendant on his studies. I have reason to believe the truth of this assertion, as the Chevalier Anastasi told me as a good joke, that this same professor had afterwards written him a letter, which he kept as a remarkable document, in which he tried to excuse the unpardonable conduct of the young man, by observing, first, that the Chevalier Anastasi was a merchant, and consequently liable to fail; secondly, that the Chevalier was rather old, and consequently might die soon or suddenly; and that he ought not therefore to be angry with his nephew, for trying to make sure of his expenses for the period of his studies. We must certainly look on this species of diplomacy if not as clever, at least as original. It however failed in its object, and had no other result than to irritate the mildest of dispositions, and yet we succeeded in appeasing this kind-hearted and noble old man. Theologides was again received into favour, and respectably provided for, with a considerable capital, and a mercantile connexion was formed for him with

the assistance of his uncle, in which he may in time become as rich as the Chevalier himself, if he combines the same good fortune, and more especially the same probity, with the thorough knowledge of business which characterise his uncle.

Anastasi himself was not always fortunate. At the commencement of his career, all went wrong with him, and he was obliged at last to declare himself a bankrupt. A legal composition with his creditors took place, by which he paid them 25 per cent. He then began again, in a small way; but the wheel of fortune had by this time taken a turn. Every speculation in which he engaged repaid itself doubly and trebly, and in a few years, he became a rich man. On this occasion, his sterling character showed itself in its true colours. Although the law could not compel him to such a proceeding, he called all his former creditors, or their heirs, together, and conscientiously paid every man the principal and interest due, to the last farthing. Examples such as this are, in our selfish times, very rare, and deserve to be mentioned with honour and respect for the benefit of society at large.

In this manner I parted with my third travelling secretary on my oriental tour, and it is singular enough that all three had a little of the prodigal son in them, and that I was the means of bringing each back to his respective family, to partake of the fatted calf. Whether the reconciliation will be lasting with all, is quite a different question. As regards myself, I feel a strong inclination, after having tried a Protestant, an Israelite, and a Greek Catholic as secretary (the Jew, by the way, was the best of them) to make choice of a moslem.

There are numbers here who have studied in Europe, and in all probability know more than I do myself.

When Prince Said Bey returned my visit, one of these Turks, who had received a first rate European education, Vice-admiral Hassan Bey accompanied him, and he spoke French so well, that I took him for an orthodox French Christian, until I saw him kneel down and perform his moslem devotions, which good mussulmen always celebrate at the proper hour, without consideration as to the society in which they may happen to be.

This admiral was formerly a mameluke and a personal slave of Mehemet Ali and is considered one of the best horsemen in Egypt, rather a singular accomplishment, bŷ the bye, for a sailor, and has seen besides a great deal of the world, and experienced various reverses of fortune.

He told us that when in Chili, he had surpassed many of the most celebrated horsemen there, but it had so excited their jealousy that they several times attempted his life, and he was forced in consequence to leave the country. The admiral possesses the most valuable horse in Alexandria, which is of the true Nedji breed, and which he at my request brought out for my inspection, on which occasion he proved the justice of his character, as an equestrian in a manner that astonished me. No one can have a firmer and easier seat, or a more perfect command over a spirited horse.

His dapple grey, with a cream coloured muzzle, I must observe for the benefit of the knowing ones in horseflesh, did not stand very high, but was of a powerful and compact build, with strong projecting bones, and without a defect, and would have been, consider-

ing its symmetry, perfect, had it not been for the shortness of its neck, a very common fault in the Nedji breed. He was not so long in the fetlocks as most Arabians, but he was as spirited as he was mild in temper, and yet this horse was not of the most valued race of the desert, which Hassan Bey, who had been in the war with the Wechabis described in the following terms.

“ The only horses that I have seen of this choice breed, were those of Abdallah the leader of the Wechabis, which with their master fell into our hands, and which no sum, be it ever so great, could have purchased, but for the fortune of war. They stood about one head (consequently full four inches of our measure) higher than my horse, with eyes and bones like a gazelle ; the latter indeed small but firm as steel. Their beauty and the grace of their movements were incomparable, and none of our horses, many of which were excellent, could stand a comparison with them for agility, and a swiftness like that of lightning, combined with never failing bottom.”

These noble animals unfortunately perished the year after, in the Egyptian breeding stables,

which were then miserably managed, and thus the race was unfortunately lost to Egypt.

But to return again to the society in Alexandria.

Among the many opportunities of *reunion* at its command—among which, playing for high stakes, must be reckoned as first and foremost, an old custom surviving from the good old times of *soupers*, to which, by-the-bye, I myself am not disinclined, two amateur theatres must be mentioned, one French, the other Italian. The former, which is the best, owes its origin and support almost entirely to the indefatigable zeal of M. Reinlein, the Dutch Vice-consul, who sometimes, like a Talleyrand in miniature, uses all the finesse of diplomacy, sometimes, like a successful imitator of Mehemet Ali, exerts all the energy of his character, to keep together the rebellious troop of gentlemen volunteers.

M. Reinlein lives and exists solely in and for music and the theatre, and as I believe that an exalted taste of this nature, if it finds sufficient to satisfy itself, constitutes, in a great

degree, the happiness of this life, I congratulate him on having such a resource; for those who ride hobbies are in a far more enviable position than those who choose Pegasus or the war horse as the object of their ambition.

M. Reinlein possesses a very delightful addition to this happiness in his wife, a very pretty and amiable Spanish lady, who is perhaps more frequently the subject of envy than his theatrical *dilettantism*.

The French theatre was unfortunately then closed, and I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude, for the circumstance that a representation got up *a l'improviste* at the house of M. Lesseps, the French Consul, in honour of my humble self, met me with no opposition—and was in a few days brought out with the most cordial degree of alacrity.

One of Scribe's best pieces was the performance, and the chief characters were admirably sustained by Madame Von Wulfingen and M. Janin, a St. Simonist, and brother of the celebrated Perlet. M. Janin also excelled in the second piece the *Comedien d'Etampes*, where his amusing caricature of the English lady excited the more laughter, as several of the spectators had in their minds a still more ludicrous original

of this character, who had shortly before figured in that city.

At the Italian theatre, I was present at a concert, where some of the singers were, decidedly, of merit; especially one lady, who, I was told, was once admired by Lord Byron; and, who had not suffered so severely from the inroads of time, as the *Maid of Athens*; who is, now, enrolled in the police force.

The Alexandrians, are still, as formerly, very fond of country excursions, although they have very little *country* left; for, in lieu of the paradisaical *bosquets*, which once environed the villages of the lake of Mareotis; and, where that exquisite wine, celebrated by Horace Athenaeus, and Strabo, grew; they have now, only barren mud and sand hills left, together with *foreign* wine. There are, however, some brighter oases to be met with in the neighbourhood.

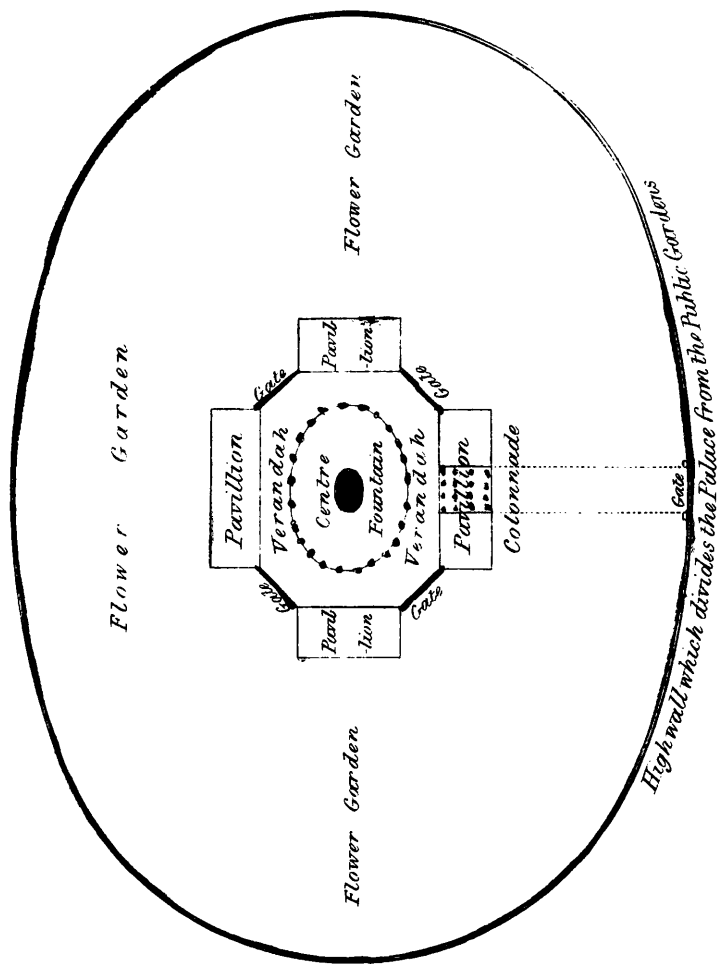
In order to become acquainted with these, I made an excursion on horseback, on a Friday ---the Moslem Sabbath---with M. and Madame Roquerbes---(the most charming Smyrniotte in Alexandria, and the sole lady, of my acquaintance here, who understands making Turkish coffee in perfection) with the view of inspect-

ing the few cultivated spots, in the environs. We first visited a villa belonging to the Minister, Boghos Bey, which is decorated with some splendid palm-trees, and very pretty flower-beds. Many of the date trees, were still laden with fruit; which I, for the first time tasted in their natural state, in Alexandria; as I was not in Barbary at the time they were in maturity. They by no means, resemble the dry dates we eat in Europe; for, in appearance, they are like our plums, and are of a dark blue colour, very juicy, but rather too sweet for my palate.

We first rode between a double row of windmills—only introduced about ten years since, into Egypt—then passed a cotton store belonging to the Viceroy, and thence to a new summer palace of Mehemet Ali, which is not yet finished; it is quite in the national, Turkish style, and is a very superb structure.

This style of architecture, is not deficient in gracefulness, although the barbarous admixture of wood, saturated with oil, and marble, of coarsely stuccoed walls, and richly gilded ceilings, with numerous other incongruities

of the same kind, rather offend the rules of pure taste. Our ride took place on the Turkish Sunday; and we saw several persons taking the air in the garden; on arriving, however, at the entrance of the space occupied by the palace, we found it barricaded, and no one in the interior, who could give us any information. I, and M. Roquerbes, scaled the high wall immediately surrounding the palace, and within the spacious garden, (probably, to afford seclusion to the harem), in order to gain a better view; and, after repeatedly calling in vain, an Arab, in a half-naked state, at length appeared with a large axe in his hand, with which, he at first threatened us, but, subsequently, when we promised him a *backsheesh*, employed it to cut through the firmly nailed wooden bolt, of the temporary gate of boards, obstructing our entrance. The form of the palace, is original, but calculated for the utmost comfort. It consists of four isolated square pavilions, united at their four corners by high gates, which lead to the secluded gardens of the harem. A circular covered gallery or verandah, painted in gaudy tints, surrounds the whole interior court, which is paved with



pebbles of various colours ; and, in its centre, plays a beautiful fountain. A high portico forms the principal entrance of the pavilion, which looks towards the town. At present, it is constructed of wood, but it is to be replaced by oriental alabaster, gigantic blocks of which are lying about in readiness for erection. The outlines of the roofs form curved lines, and pointed projections, like those of Chinese buildings, and are well suited to the fantastic character of the whole edifice. I annex a plan of the whole, for amateurs in these matters.

In the outer gardens of this palace, which occupy a large space on all sides, and are open to the public ; but, like all gardens in the East, consist of mere ornamental plantations of vegetables, and fruit trees ; I admired several very beautiful plants in blossom, which are well worth transplanting to Europe ; amongst others, a species of bean, with large, dark blue flowers, and a gorgeous convolvulus, with violet, and red flowers, which covered the walls and elegant reed fences, so densely, that scarcely a space remained. In the course of time, these plantations will contribute greatly to the embellishment of the

environs of Alexandria, which are, at present, very monotonous.

Ibrahim Pasha, also, does a great deal in this way, for the town; the large, and splendid square in which I live, was built at his sole expense; and the large sum collected as rent, from the houses surrounding it, has been generously devoted by him, to the formation of a fund for the relief of widows, whose husbands have fallen in battle, under his command. Ibrahim Pasha has, also, performed many generous actions of the same sort, in Kahira and Syria.

It is extremely difficult, to inspire the natives with a taste for plantations, and parks; and the rock on which the efforts of the Viceroy frequently split, is the natural indolence of the people.

Of the many thousand olive trees, which he presented to them a few years ago, not one is now standing, because they were all planted in the most careless manner, and no attention was paid to their culture. This is the reason, why the Canal of Mahmudieh, that stupendous undertaking of Mehemet Ali—on the excavation of which, 50,000 men were daily engaged for several

months, offers only barren embankments to the view, although they might have been, long since, covered with a luxuriant foliage, considering the rapidity with which trees grow in this climate, and even have rivalled those banks, of which Dufard-el-Hadad sings :

“ What charms surround thee, canal of Alexandria.”

“ The sight of them, fills the heart with transports.”

“ The woods which shade thee, invite to repose, the boatmen who glide upon thy waters.”

“ The north wind furrows in sweet dalliance, thy smooth surface, and strews it with fish.”

“ The splendid palm-tree, like a sleeping girl, gently bending her flexible head, towers over thee, with its crown of drooping fruit,” &c., &c.—*Vide Prokesch's description of this canal.*

The excavation of the Canal of Mahmudieh, must have presented very great difficulties, as they are unacquainted in Egypt, with the use of the pickaxe, spade, and wheel-barrow ; the workmen generally scratch up the soft earth with their hands, and collect it in

heaps, whence it is removed in baskets : and, in this practice, both old and young have acquired a very remarkable dexterity, so that it would be a matter of difficulty, to induce them to adopt our European mode of working.

On our return, we visited Mehemet Ali's town residence, which is situated on the promontory between the two harbours. It is somewhat characteristic of this prince, that an avenue 2,000 paces in length, of brick towers without roofs, and eight feet in height, leads to the palace. These towers are for no other purpose, than to afford protection to the young acacias he has planted there. The palace is a princely edifice of vast extent; the audience chambers are simple, yet imposing; and the grand staircase of Carrara marble, is very beautiful; but, here again, the ballustrade is constructed of common wood, coloured with common white paint. In one of the saloons, contrary to Mahometan custom, there is a colossal bust of Mehemet Ali in plaster, cleverly executed by a St. Simonist of this town. As a portrait, it may be considered like in detail; but that peculiar expression of countenance, which forms the distinguishing character of the

Grand Pasha's face, is totally wanting. The chief splendours of Moslemism, are reserved for their harems; but this part of the building was closed to us, as a few of the select ladies were still there. A large bathing place, which must be very agreeable in the heat of the sun, and where the Viceroy sometimes holds his audiences, was all we were permitted to inspect of this department.

I here separated from my amiable companions, and took a boat to go on board a Turkish *corvette* from Constantinople; which lately brought out an ambassador from the Sultan. The captain received me most politely; he was dressed, with the exception of the *Fez*, (here called *Tarboosh*), quite in the *Russian* fashion, and shewed me all the arrangements of his vessel, which was built in *America*. The same elegance as in the Egyptian fleet is not found here, but to my astonishment, almost as much order and cleanliness prevail, and the sailors, in their European uniforms, their red jackets and dark grey trowsers, do not appear to be less practised hands than the Arabs, though they seemed to me more clumsy, and are said to be as far behind the Egyptian sailors in quickness in perform-

ing their manœuvres as the latter are behind the English.

A series of dinners and parties were given in compliment to me during my stay at Alexandria, and afforded me the opportunity of making several very agreeable acquaintances, I will only mention three of them ; first, the Danish Consul, General Dumreiker, a Bavarian by birth, and one of the most respectable foreigners in Egypt, who deserves the esteem of every German, for the many services he has rendered to different individuals of this nation have long since gained him the title of “ father of the Germans ; the second, is the celebrated Swedish naturalist, Hedenborg, the traveller, who approached nearest to the mountains of the Moon, of all travellers before Russegger, and that too without any assistance from the authorities, but he has since suffered severely from a disease, brought on by the climate, of which he has not entirely recovered, and which has ever since kept him in a state of inactivity. His collection of subjects, relating to natural history, which he was seven years engaged in assembling ; and which he has sent to his native country, is said, to be one of the

most perfect of its kind. I was greatly struck by the intense enthusiasm of this truly learned man for his occupation. A gentleman of a very different kind makes up the trio, the chief of the Capuchins, and the legate of the Holy Father, in Hindostan, the Archbishop of Adra, to which see he was on his way by way of Alexandria and Bombay. He was a fine young man, scarcely thirty years of age, of the most agreeable manners, very lively, and unprejudiced in his conversation. He preached several sermons here, which drew together a large concourse of the fashionable world, and were ruinous to the private theatre, because the archbishop, with a profound knowledge of human nature, knew how to make them pithy by telling the ladies the harshest truths in his sonorous Italian, clothed in a garb of perfidious compliments.

I listened with great delight to one of his sermons, which began thus:—"O thou heedless and frail sex, whom vanity alone induces to appear in this holy place, to have your charms, which are so seductive, or your dress, which is so tastefully chosen, admired by mere brainless adorers." A few weeks after this, this

original apostle was the ladies' preacher at Alexandria. Let it not be said in future that ladies do not like to hear the truth, for all depends on the *when, where, and by whom* it is told them.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOURNEY ON THE NILE TO KAHIRA.

I wrote yesterday to a lady, who has a great love for travelling, but dreads the dangers and troubles attendant upon it, that I could not recommend her a better winter tour to avoid both than a journey to Egypt, where you glide along the old Nile, surrounded in your cabin by all your usual domestic appliances, so comfortably, that you would not perceive the motion of the vessel, were it not for the fleeting shores. And where could you travel with greater safety? Certainly in no post-chaise or diligence in Europe.

The good General Besson wished once more to entertain me at his country residence. A

walk arched over with vines, leads from the *salle a manger* of this villa to the canal of Mahmudieh, and night had already spread its dark wings when I entered this pleasant walk, in the company of the general and M. Roquerbes to go on board the *Kangshe*, which the Government had had the kindness to provide me with, as also a *Kawass*, formerly called a *Janissary*. After having slept lightly I rose early next morning and left the vessel to go out shooting, for the wind was contrary, and the sailors were obliged to draw the boat by a rope, rather a slow mode of making way. We met with no edible game, excepting larks, but they were in such quantities, that I frequently killed several at a shot, and was able, in a short time, to furnish thirty fat little roastlings for the table. Birds of prey were very plentiful, also sea mews, and a flight of cranes, a mile in length, sailed over our heads, through the air, in closed columns for Europe.

‘Segler der Luft,
Wer mit euch schiffte!’

I exclaimed in a moment of sentiment, as I

shot my last lark, *in imagination*, for at that moment I put my foot in a rat-hole, and came in rather rough contact with the classic earth.

The country around, as viewed from the banks of the canal, appeared rather monotonous, its green meadows being almost devoid of trees; while the sea of Aboukir formed the horizon, and the sand hills of the desert lay behind us. I breakfasted in one of the fellah huts, against which travellers exclaim so loudly, and had some delicious butter and milk, and as dessert, for the first time in my life, some new sugar-cane, which I found most agreeable in flavour. The sun was burning hot, but the air cool in the shade.

As we approached Hatfeh we found the embankments partially planted with groups of acacias, under whose shade turf had grown up; and in the distance, whence perfumed odours greeted us we discovered the houses and minarets of Damanhur, the ancient *Hermopolis parva*, glistening in the south among a forest of palm trees. Evening had set in before we reached the termination of the canal at Hatfeh, and as we were obliged to unload at this place and change our Kangshe, I was under the necessity of passing the night

here. The cause of the delay was this ; in excavating the canal its outlet into the Nile, was, in order to expedite the work, commenced a few miles too far up, so that it was found that a sufficient fall of water had not been left to allow of a lock being constructed for the convenience of vessels. It may readily be imagined that I lost no time in elbowing my way through the crowds of men, and bales of cotton by which I was surrounded, to reach the other extremity of the place before night closed in ; and to obtain a sight of the holy Nile which I was now about to behold for the first time. Moments like these, are the traveller's true reward ! This splendid river may be compared, as regards breadth in this place, with the Elbe between Dresden and Misnia ; its water even has nearly the same colour, for it is slightly tinged with yellow. The shores on the other hand bore the nearest resemblance to the country of Holland that I have seen, if we abstract the palm tree. The leaves of the poplar, mulberry, gum and other trees, already covered the ground, which certainly may have deprived the landscape of some of its beauties, for it bore a more winter-like appearance than I could have expected, in many spots where

evergreens were not present to relieve the scene ; I was every where delighted with the soft verdure of the meadows, as contrasted with the cloudless, azure blue of the sky. The high, and sometimes dilapidated shores bore evidence of the fall of the water. The Egyptians have now a singular mode of judging whether they may expect a "good or a bad Nile," for the ensuing year. They calculate the height to which the river will rise, by the larger or smaller quantity of rain clouds passing during the year, from the North over the sea to Abyssinia, and certain officials are appointed, whose business it is constantly to make these meteorological observations.

The governor of Hatfeh had some difficulty in procuring us another *Kangshe*, so that we did not get afloat until the middle of the next day, and our journey in consequence could only be extended to Fuah.

This large town, where the Nile increases to three times its natural breadth, in the middle of which is an island planted with trees, is built on a most charming site. Orange gardens fenced in with high reeds ; extensive fields of cotton covered with their flocculent produce ; rich meadows of clover, extending

inwards in their splendid garb of gold and green; thousands of palms stretching along the shore, and between them beautiful groups of tall sycamores, the most majestic tree in Egypt; long rows of white manufactories glistening in the distance, with flat roofs like Italian palaces, and in the back ground in immediate connection with the latter, the dark cluster of houses composing the town, built in the Turkish fashion, and nearly all two stories in height with numerous gaudy minarets towering above them in the slim and elegant form of obelisks and columns; all these foreign objects, in the diversity of landscape which they present, contribute even at the commencement of the journey to form one of the most attractive pictures in this delightful river scenery.

I landed with my interpreter as my companion near the town, in order to enjoy myself to my heart's content, in a walk on the green-sward and to inspect at the close of my promenade, the manufactories situated on my road to the city.

In the first of these a sufficient number of *Fez* (*Tarboosh*) is manufactured, not only to cover the entire quantity requisite for home consumption, but even to supply a considerable

surplus for exportation ; and the articles they produce, are very little inferior to those made in Tunis. The work-people of either sex, children and old men being employed in the light work, while adults are engaged in the more laborious branches, can earn daily, as they themselves informed me, from one to four piastres, a rate of pay, in this country where everything is very cheap, fully equal to the remuneration of labour in Europe.

Their work is performed in clean, spacious, and well ventilated rooms, and the workmen themselves are better clothed than the generality of the fellahs. To me it was quite a pleasure to observe their healthy and cheerful appearance, and to see with what kindness they seem to be universally treated by the inspectors. There is not a single European now engaged in this establishment, nor in the large cotton-spinning factory which I afterwards visited ; the latter is a correct imitation of the same class of establishment in England, although it is far more difficult to keep the machinery clean in this country on account of the fine sand pervading the air in summer. But it is, after all, a mere fable, got up for malevolent purposes, to state that these factories have on that account failed, and that others ought to have been

erected, to obviate the impediment by keeping one at work while the machinery of the other is cleaning. The Viceroy, who does everything on a colossal scale has, amongst other institutions, called manufactories suddenly as if by magic, into operation, like Frederic the Great, to whom, although he was, at the time, greatly blamed, Prussia owes the foundation of its manufactories, which are flourishing so prosperously at the present day. War, the plague, and cholera, have however combined to force the Viceroy to reduce the number of poor he takes away from agriculture, and experience may have proved certain speculations not to have answered the expectations of their projectors.

For these reasons a number of institutions have been abolished, but those which remain are the more sterling on that account, and are kept in a state doubly deserving of praise, considering the suddenness of their introduction among a people averse to all innovation. I subsequently heard from Mehemet Ali himself that he had not expended more than ten millions of Spanish dollars upon all the factories he had erected, and that they yielded one million clear profit, of which sum an augmentation might be expected. The

speculation cannot, therefore, be said to have failed, as far as the Viceroy is concerned, for he is by no means the man to add the weight of a lie in favour of his own purse.

From the factories, I strolled to the Bazaars, where I purchased, from a dirty looking Arab, as a curiosity, a toilette-glass of Saxon manufacture, as the inscription (Chemnitz) shewed. In the press of the crowd, in this place, I lost my Spartan Susannis, (a dog, presented to me at Mistra, *vide* the "Vorläufer") and in spite of all my efforts, was unable to recover him ; I was, consequently, obliged to stop the night here, in order to continue my search. This classical dog had, as I heard in the morning, given a fresh and singular proof of his fidelity and attachment to me ; for, accurately following the road I had taken in coming, he had, as it were, to make enquiries at both factories, but finding me no where, he jumped into the water, at the spot where I had landed, swam across the Nile, in this place more than a mile in breadth, and returned to Hatfeh, from whence he was about to proceed on his journey to Alexandria, when he was overtaken after some trouble, by the messengers I had dispatched in search of him, covered with mud,

and dreadfully tired ; on reaching the **Kangshe**, the poor animal was received with a volley of laughter at his miserable plight ; but, at the same time, with joy, at his recovery, by the whole crew.

I had read so much in the various descriptions of Egypt of the dancing girls, the **Almehs**, who are said to swim to the boats, and to live in villages appropriated to them, under peculiar laws, that I was somewhat astonished at not having as yet met with one ; I therefore sent my kawass to **Fuah** with orders to bring some of them on board ; but this kind of amusement seems to be extinct here, which I for one very much lament, on account of the characteristic nationality of the thing. The Viceroy, with an eye to morality, whose cause is not in general furthered by such prohibitions, has it appears laid his veto on these innocent beings.

Their place is certainly now supplied at **Kahira** by dancing boys, but as no ruler is better obeyed than he, not one of these poor girls ventures to shew herself. I was consoled by hearing that this national representation is reserved for Upper Egypt, where the Viceroy has banished the greater number of these girls,

and where the police is somewhat less strict in the performance of its duties.

The view from Fuah is quite as beautiful as the prospect of the town itself. On the opposite shore, Salamieh, a considerable town, towers above the forest, and a quadrangle of high and blackened walls, (a deserted factory) rises conspicuously above the dense plantation of palms, overlooking endless meadows, which, like the sea, are lost in the distant horizon.

As we proceeded on our journey, the banks of the river presented a succession of the same charming views, and game became more plentiful. We shot some snipes, wild pigeons, field-fares and a speckled bird with gay plumage, which formed an excellent dish. The fellahs appeared everywhere friendly disposed towards us, and ready to lend us assistance, and only once prohibited us from killing game in the neighbourhood of a sacred grave; this was even meant as friendly advice, for they said that the Santon would take revenge if we did not respect his grave; so we, of course, obeyed. On the next morning after having continued our journey during the night, we beheld a regular, London fog, which is not an uncommon occurrence on the Nile at this season; and a tone

o'clock in the afternoon we could only see the water and our bark. Our sailors sang all the merrier for it; the noise, the groaning, the neighing and singing of these Arabs, when at work, is sometimes amusing, but more frequently troublesome. It often sounds as if they were being bastinadoed, or were writhing with colick; but they always keep time: at other times you would imagine that the vessel was about to sink, they make such a clatter; when perhaps a change of sail is the only cause for it.

On this occasion we might have conjectured that we were attacked by pirates, especially as there was really a sort of combat going on with deafening screaming between our sailors, who were pulling the vessel by a rope, close under the lee of the shore, and some strangers, who had just arrived.

The cause of this disturbance was our *Rāis* (captain of the boat) refusing to pay the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, a small sum of money which he owed them since a former journey; and although my *Kawass* used the weight of his authority, the *Rāis* was obliged to pay in order to release his crew, who had been taken prisoners by the villagers. I

am sure that both parties wore out more of their lungs on this occasion than the value of the sum in dispute.

These sailors are stout fellows and capable of bearing more than most people ; they are always under exertion ; sometimes in rowing, sometimes in towing the boat, or pushing it off the sands, or in climbing the thin spars of the boat, like squirrels, and to use a hunting phrase, they are all “ game to the back bone.”

In the evening we landed at the small village of Sidi Ibrahim, to purchase provisions ; where we found everything an European market-town could have furnished ; such for instance as good beef and veal, and excellent vegetables. A fat, unslaughtered sheep costs here $1\frac{2}{3}$ dollars, Prussian, and meat $1\frac{1}{2}$ groschen per pound ; the vegetables were almost given away. I mention these circumstances in order to shew how much the descriptions that have appeared of the misery of the agricultural population of Egypt deviate from the truth.

The odious fog of the morning was followed by a beautiful moon-light night, and although strangers are advised not to expose themselves to the air, under such circumstances, not one of us experienced any ill effects from

so doing. This caution is like other things, an exaggeration, and I do not believe either night or day in Egypt to be pernicious, if one avoids colds and stimulating food, the chief causes of ophthalmia. This disease is said to have been on the decrease here since the commencement of civilization, and the change of habits and customs attendant on it, together with the adoption of a more judicious diet. Certainly many persons with one eye only, and occasionally others, who are totally blind, are to be met with here ; but it is nothing less than an absurd fiction for a traveller to assert, that the proportion of individuals afflicted with diseases of the eye is as one to twelve.

The objects which chiefly attracted my attention and interested me by their novelty, although well known to me by description, were, on this day, the following: the country, I must remark, being less picturesque than formerly.

First, the peculiar shaped buffaloes which frequently crossed the river, and whose young, in contradistinction to the usual course of nature with other animals, were far more ugly than their dams ; the women who carried their high water jugs of antique shape so dexterously

and gracefully on their heads, reminding me of similar pictures in my illustrated bible at home, as was also the case with several persons whom I observed praying in silence on the shores of the Nile, and whose faces were sometimes singularly illuminated by the rays of the setting sun, as if they were surrounded by a glory ; the strange looking figures that were to be seen rowing themselves and their families across the broad river, on a raft scarcely five feet square, and held together by plaited rushes, a custom mentioned by Strabo, but only suited to good swimmers ; the many hundred dove-cots of mitre-like shape, attached to the houses in the villages and teeming with life, like bee-hives ; the uninterrupted succession of water wheels, here called *Saki*, which are to be met with along the shores, and the creaking noise of which, resounds far and near as they are slowly turned by oxen or camels ; and lastly, the herds of dogs to be seen wandering about without masters.

The peculiar habits of these animals, formed a topic of study far more interesting to me than to Susannis, whom they frequently attacked as being a stranger, while they never molest man, nor even defend themselves when

struck, as if to prove their gratitude for the toleration shown them by the public at large. It is worthy of remark that the Turks and Egyptians who treat dogs and animals generally, with kindness, never themselves keep dogs, but this feeling does not extend to cats. A religious prejudice, which has given the dog and the pig the character of being unclean beasts, is undoubtedly the reason; I also observed that the Turks never touch a dog otherwise than with the left hand.

Lower Egypt presents little or no resemblance to Barbary, as far as I have travelled. In the first place, the former has not the high mountains and rocks, and the latter wants the majestic river. The towns of Barbary are always of a dazzling white, cheerfully situated in green oases, or flanked by coloured rocks, and even when surrounded by the sands of the desert, they glisten brightly in the sun when seen from a distance.

In Egypt on the other hand, where, on account of the overflowing of the Nile, they are built on artificial sand hills, and the houses are mostly constructed of dark bricks, they have a more sombre and indeed rather a dull charac-

ter. The continued repetition of palm trees at length gives the country a monotonous appearance, just as the eternal green plains, flat as if they had been made by rule, in time become tedious. Even the palm trees of the two countries differ; in Barbary they are low and have wide spreading crowns, whilst here they are much higher, and in general furnished with a mere bunch of leaves at the top of the barren stems; the latter however are said to be the most productive.

The progress this country has made in civilization reminds one in many respects of Algiers, while Tunis and the rest of Barbary, have preserved their African character unaltered.

As the wind had set in, in a contrary direction, and we made but little way, I for two days occupied myself with writing in the cabin and observing the fleeting scenery, through the windows, until we reached a spot where the sand hills of the desert shelve off to the Nile.

This was a change in the scene, so I went on shore. The sand was for the most part so hard that it afforded a firm and pleasant foot-

ing, and but rarely gave way under us. The appearance of this shifting land, although void of vegetation, was by no means as fearful as our preconceived ideas of a desert led us to imagine, and I can even assure the Berlin folks for their comfort, that many parts of the country in their environs surpass the real desert in bleakness.

My delight at the desert was however of short duration, for in a short time we again came in sight of those fertile golden meadows beautified by trees of every description, which from the borders of the Nile, almost without intermission from Alexandria to Kahira.

The river in this place makes a considerable bend, so that being on foot we got in advance of our bark by a long distance, and were obliged to retrace our steps at sunset to look after it.

On this excursion we killed a few wild geese and ducks, and Ackerman, my valet, cruelly brought down four turtle doves at one shot, from the top of an evergreen, which is said to give forth melodious notes in the evening winds like the Eolian harp. Our bark in the

meantime following the deep current of the river had gained the opposite shore, and we were obliged to be ferried across to it in a boat.

The black Arab, who rowed us over with the force of a Hercules, resembled, notwithstanding his strength, the famous French living skeleton, who died in England of an undigested beef-steak, which in a moment of weakness he was induced to devour. The man of whom I am now speaking, consisted literally of nothing but bone, muscle and skin, and appeared to us the very prototype of Charon.

A slight north wind had sprung up which increased our speed during the night, and when I rose next morning, the pyramids of Dshisheh were pointed out to me, resembling the blue tops of mountains on the distant horizon. For how many long years had I longed to behold this sight ! their appearance now filled my breast with a sweet composure, the result of satisfaction, and I must beg the critics to allow me the benefit of this fit of sentiment without construing it into affectation ; from the unprejudiced reader I have nothing of the sort to dread.

We now perceive more distinctly that we are approaching the capital. Isolated villas surrounded by walls, interrupt the green meadows on the right and left shores of the river. The citadel, at the foot of the dark Mokatamon glisten in the distance ; we pass the splendid gardens of Shubra ; and on proceeding further, chimneys as high as towers rise from the side of factories, sending up thick columns of black smoke into the blue sky ; then passing rapidly from one remarkable object to another, we at last reach Bulac, the harbour of Kahira, from the sea side.

Here, the active life of commerce displays itself to us in its most busy aspect, the pleasant Island of Guaranteh is visible on the opposite side, forming a charming contrast in its idyllic repose, as with its summer palace, it hides itself behind extensive plantations and a transparent screen of weeping willows, like a beauty behind her veil, in order to be more attentively regarded. Kahira itself is still obscured. Masked by several large palaces of the suburbs, many of which adorn the shores of the Nile, its presence is rather anticipated than seen,

and the tops of its cupolas and minarets appearing at intervals between the river and the steep rocks of the Mokatamon, betray the vast town, "the sea of the world," as it is termed in the poetical language of the east.

CHAPTER VIII.

KAHIRA (MASR-EL KAHIRA)—INSTALLATION IN
BAKI BEY'S PALACE. — IBRAHIM'S PARK.

I LANDED at the island before mentioned with the intention of passing the night in the unoccupied summer palace of Ismael Pasha, a grandson of the Viceroy, who was burnt to death in Shendi. This I could do by virtue of a fee to the keepers, according to eastern custom.

I intended, after a good night's rest, making my official entry into Kahira in the morning. My dragoman arranged everything accordingly, and whilst they were preparing in

haste a few rooms for my reception, I occupied the spare time first in visiting the more than usually elegant *parterres* of the former Seraglio, and then in taking a walk in the avenue of weeping willows, two miles in length, which I had before admired from the river. It runs close by the banks of the Nile, disclosing between its drooping branches landscape after landscape on the opposite shore of the river, whilst on the other side, towards the interior of the island, an extensive plantation of young olives unites it with a carpet of bright green clover. I and my Greek page appeared to be the only persons in the avenue, with the exception of an Egyptian of athletic build, who had probably just emerged from a river bath, for he held a bunch of rushes in his hand which he used as a fig-leaf.

I had just paused for a moment to take a view of the residence of Ibrahim Pasha, which extended in magnificent proportions before me on the opposite side, when several persons came running after us, calling out and making signs to us in the distance ; this put an end to my incognito.

The Viceroy, who now inhabits Ibrahim's

palace, temporarily, with a view to receiving his son there, who is daily expected back from Syria, had heard of my arrival, and had ordered a boat to be sent to meet me and convey me to Baki Bey's palace, which, as I was informed, had been newly furnished and supplied with the necessary attendance, and was now placed at my disposal.

On my arrival I found a guard of honour at their post, and several richly caparisoned horses standing at the gate. A head kawass of his Highness, with his long staff of office, whose silver top was decorated with jingling chains, and who was followed by six subordinates, preceded me with grave step to the accompaniment of the drums of the guard.

In the anti-chambers I was received by the whole corps of mamelukes, servants, and slaves intended for my service during my sojourn at Kahira, who accompanied me to the divan, where a long pipe, richly set with brilliants and Mocha coffee, in an enamelled cup glistening with diamonds and redolent of amber, was handed me.

With the delicacy and politeness characteristic of the east, I was here left for an hour

to repose myself at my ease, until the master of the house made his appearance to welcome me as his guest. He is the chief of a department and a general, a Turk, born in Greece and of a very high family in the Morea. The brother-in-law of our consul at Alexandria, M. Bonfort, Ibrahim Pasha's *fac totum*, accompanied him as interpreter ; he is one of the most estimable men whose acquaintance I made at Kahira.

Shortly after them Artim Bey, his highness's dragoman, made his appearance, who brought me the Viceroy's greetings and assurances of friendship. He repeated, that I was to look upon the palace and the servants as my own property, and even added that his highness regretted much that he was not able to lodge me with a Pasha, as all persons of this rank were absent on missions. He, at the same time, announced to me that the Viceroy had commissioned Lubbert, the Egyptian historian, and adviser to the administration of public education, to accompany me about as Cicerone, and to shew me all the curiosities of the town and its environs. I was really at a loss how to express my gratitude for so many unexpected and undeserved

marks of honour, and for this princely hospitality, but I found Artim Bey, who had been partly educated in Paris, and who spoke French as well as his native language, as polite as considerate in relieving me from my embarrassment.

Several other visits followed, amongst which, that of Sami Bey interested me most; he is the first *aid-de-camp*, and favorite of his highness, and stands in high reputation here, not only as a statesman, but as a man profoundly learned in oriental languages, and an erotic poet. After him came Muftar Bey, a lieutenant-general, and chief of the administration of public education, who had likewise passed several years of his life in Europe, and combined elegance of manners, with very agreeable conversational powers, but is not much admired as a minister.

The palace I inhabit is charmingly situated in the suburbs, and stands on the banks of the Nile, from which it is only separated by a small flower garden, so that, from my bedroom, I have on my right, my favorite island of Guaranteh, and on the left, the eternal pyramids, behind which the sun is sinking, whilst I am writing, in a glare of red light.

An historical interest is moreover attached to this house. It was built by the celebrated Mehemet Bey, the most confidential companion and servant of Mehemet Ali, who on that memorable day, which threatened at once the Viceroy's government and life, planned the destruction of the Mameluke conspirators and undertook himself, the execution of his plan.

By a fortunate piece of treachery, he ascertained that the Mamelukes intended, during a grand review, which Mehemet Ali had ordered to take place in three days, falling upon him with their whole force, in order, if possible, to annihilate him and his trusty adherents, at one blow. The main object now was to anticipate them, for which purpose he had not a sufficient force to proceed openly, and yet not a moment was to be lost. Every one knows the desperate expedient to which he had recourse; but a great deal of error prevails in Europe respecting the details.

Thus Forbin's painting, engravings of which are everywhere to be met with, represents the scene, as if Mehemet Ali had looked on as at a performance on the stage, quietly smoking

his nargileh. Now the truth is that he was not present at all, nor could he well have been so, considering the locality.

As soon as the Beys had taken leave of him, and had vaulted into their saddles in the court, Mehemet Bey said to him—

“Now your part is over, mine begins; I entreat that your highness will retire to the Harem.”

This was immediately done, and the eunuchs in the Seraglio, who were eye witnesses, have assured me, that the Viceroy awaited the termination of the affair in silence, and labouring under great mental emotion; and that he did not speak a word, except to call several times for a drink of water, whilst the noise of the musketry, and the tumult of the riderless horses, with the screams of the wounded, penetrated from the distance to his ears.

This is only probable, for Mehemet Ali is really as little blood-thirsty as Napoleon was; but he is certainly not a Louis XVI., and does not even dread blood-shed, where he thinks it necessary, for he knows that a few sacrifices may spare the lives of hundreds of thousands, and confirm the future welfare of a whole nation, whilst weakness and temporizing only

lead to general destruction ; and besides this, every man has a right to look to his own interests. Whoever tries to throw me into a pit, I will strain all my efforts to cast him into the abyss before me, and I deserve to be called a blockhead if I do not.

Mehemet Bey subsequently distinguished himself by another deed, that was equally bold, by beheading without a moment's consideration, or without waiting for further instructions, a messenger of the Sultan, who came to Kahira during Mehemet Ali's absence, to bring him a silk cord.

I devoted my first day at Kahira to domestic arrangements, the bath, and the rest which I needed ; and on the following morning I proceeded to Ibrahim's palace, to have an audience with the governor of the country.

The road, a good mile in length, leads through part of the promenades, constructed about eight years ago, by M. Bonfort, at Ibrahim's command and expense. They are intended to occupy the whole of the expanse, between the Nile, Bulac, Kahira, and old Kahira ; and two thirds of this stupendous undertaking, are already completed.

A truly royal plantation ! Formerly,

numerous dark looking piles of ruins of from fifty to one hundred feet in height, occupied the place of the green sward, which now smiles from beneath the shade of large trees. These ruins, had all to be carefully levelled, on account of the irrigation requisite, and replaced by sakis, (water wheels driven by oxen) before the cultivation, and plantation, of the ground, could be proceeded with. Ibrahim Pasha, whom we only know in Europe, as a gallant soldier, but, who is here considered deserving of still greater admiration as a planter, and agriculturist, on a grand scale, did not rest contented with these improvements, but extended his labours to several parts of the eastern desert, on the other side of Kahira. His plantations are all under the management of the energetic Bonfort, who keeps in his pay, upwards of ten thousand labourers, for the whole of Ibrahim's plantations, in Upper and Lower Egypt; each of whom, receives from one and a half, to three piastres a day, and is regularly paid his wages in money, every Friday! How many European princes imitate his example? It would be barbarism, not to mention an undertaking of this kind with respect!

I am well aware, that Ibrahim Pasha is not the man to act thus, from sheer philanthropy; it is a speculation, like his building operations at Alexandria, which furnish him with a good rent-roll—and, at the same time, serves to embellish his future capital; but these speculations confer a great general benefit—for, when the rude population, who now bury their superfluous money, or allow it to lie dormant, observe that the monarch's eldest son-and-heir—who is, moreover, a celebrated warrior—comes forward as a successful speculator, it will be the surest way to stimulate them to imitate his example.

The motives of human actions, should never be too narrowly enquired into, as long as their results promote the interests of the people at large. In all cases, perhaps, the germ will be found to be egotism, concealed under a thousand various forms. No rule is more generally followed in this world, than “*Charité bien entendue commence, par soi même.*” But many people do not perceive this, and few are inclined to confess it.

With the extraordinary rapid growth of trees in this climate, (I saw some fifteen years of age, that would have required, at least, fifty

years, to attain the same degree of development in our country), and with the extraordinary luxuriance of all kinds of vegetation—requiring merely irrigation, to convert the desert into fertile land—but, without water, this fertile land again becomes a desert—eight years are still necessary to bring the plantations of this park to perfection; and then, there will be few capitals in the world, that will be able to boast of such charming environs, or such beautiful, and shady promenades. All these plantations, without exception, form regular figures on a large scale; the sole style, in my opinion, suited to the majesty of this peculiar scenery; a fact, of which I immediately convinced myself, and will presently, more fully explain.

The trees, used in the plantation, are chiefly the sycamore, a superb tree, peculiar to Egypt and Nubia, surpassing our oaks in height and breadth, with round leaves, resembling those of the alder, but larger, and of a brighter green; several varieties of evergreen acacias; the olive, which is of a deeper blue tint than in Europe, and exceedingly dense, but whose fruit is of an inferior quality; and, lastly, cypresses, mimosas, poplars, and several kinds of fruit trees, all planted in rows round open

spaces, or *en quinconce*, or in broader, or narrower avenues, respectively intended for the accommodation of carriages, equestrians, and pedestrians.

The ground, here, where it rarely rains, is easily kept hard and flinty, and is daily watered, to prevent the inconvenience of dust. The intervals between the plantations of trees, are, for the most part—as turf will not thrive there—sown with herbs, suitable for the pasturage of cattle, and which are of a dazzling bright green; and the small squares in which the land is divided, for the purpose of irrigation, produce a checquered, and peculiar effect. Sometimes the herbs alternate with small vegetable gardens, or plantations of oranges, and fruit trees of various kinds, surrounded by hedges of flowering shrubs. Palaces, villas, and other buildings, diversify, and embellish the whole of these promenades. The mausoleum of Mehemet Bey, built during his lifetime, is also to be found here; it consists of two white buildings, behind one of which, the Bey lies in a large stone sarcophagus; and, behind the other, lies, in like manner, his bosom friend, a dervish. Both pavilions are connected by a large reservoir of water, which serves for

public use; for the inhabitants of the East, have the excellent custom of combining with all monuments they erect, some useful work for the public good. Even the numerous *sakis*, so necessary for the cultivation of the soil, are furnished with handsome resting places; their back wall, conceals the animals drawing the water, whilst the verandahs in front, covered with blooming creepers, and monthly roses, form most agreeable places of recreation. The chief avenue, a hundred feet in breadth, leads through the centre of the plantations from Kahira; and, two others of half the width, from Old Kahira, and Bulak, to Ibrahim's royal palace. The number of guards before the gates, the throng of neighing horses, the members of the court, hurrying backwards and forwards, in their splendid garb, the crowds of *Tshaush*, and *Kawass*, and the two hundred dromedaries always in attendance in the Vice-roy's suite, to convey his couriers, at a moment's notice, to all parts of his empire, were a sufficient evidence, that we were near the splendid residence of the man, whom Providence seemed to have destined, to bring the East and the West, in more intimate connexion; and, thus, with an all-powerful hand,

to pave the way for a higher state of civilization. The great European powers have, since then, arrested his progress by superior force; and, what is done by force, is, whilst force lasts, always well done.

CHAPTER IX.

AUDIENCE WITH MEHEMET ALI.

A ruler, over millions, whose destinies are dependent on his nod, is so grand a spectacle, that I never approach a person of this description, without a certain inward emotion ; how much stronger, then, must this feeling be, when the being, armed with all this power, is, at the same time, so extraordinary a man, as Mehemet Ali.

I trust, therefore, that I shall meet with thanks, and not be accused of foolish vanity, if I describe my first visit to the Viceroy, in its most minute details, an undertaking, in which I shall, certainly, be forced, in speaking of

the great, to make mention of the little—my humble self.

Mehemet Ali, is the subject of daily conversation (or was so, at least), in Europe; and, yet, he is, in fact, but little known there; for, all that has been, at various times, published respecting him, is too contradictory, to allow of our arriving at anything like certain conclusions. I, at least, must candidly confess, that I have not, as yet, read anything that was perfectly satisfactory to my mind.

Many of those authors, who have only superficially observed Mehemet Ali, form their opinions of him, from unauthenticated anecdotes, or from mere hearsay; and the majority of those who know him better, are, as I have before hinted, too frequently biassed in their judgment by personal motives; and, either endeavour to extol him too highly, or to lower him too much in our estimation. There are, moreover, but few Europeans, who have had opportunities of observing Mehemet Ali in private life or at all intimately. This could never be done in the usual private audiences, let them have attended ever so many—least of all, where business is transacted. The number of persons, is, perhaps, yet more restricted

who, enjoying the necessary opportunities, possess sufficient philosophical acumen, and unprejudiced liberality of mind, to portray correctly, a man like Mehemet Ali.

Far from considering myself competent to this task, it appears to me a kind of duty to contribute my mite in the best manner I can towards the correct estimation of this prince, to whose potent influence over the dawning regeneration of the East, in which I reckon the northern countries of Africa, posterity will, at some future period, do ample justice. This glorious influence, he shares with the Sultan Mahmoud, who may, in many respects, be termed his intelligent pupil.

Of all European countries France can alone sustain a claim to a similar honour by the conquest of Algiers, the incalculable consequences of which to posterity will always form a bright spot in the history of France, even if the present dependance of Algiers on France should, in the course of time, cease. In many respects they may be estimated higher than all those vain and ephemeral conquests of Napoleon, though replete with military glory. When I therefore before observed that I felt it, in a certain degree, my duty to consider

Mehemet Ali, as the chief theme of my work, the reason by no means lay in any partizan feeling, but simply in the fact that, during my sojourn for nearly two years in the country governed by Mehemet Ali, through which I have wandered from the borders of Senaar to Adana, over an extent of more than 25 degrees of latitude, circumstances concurred to assist me, and afforded me opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with Mehemet Ali, under relations more favorable than have perhaps ever before been enjoyed by any other travelling, private gentleman.

Nevertheless it is less my intention to furnish a complete description of Mehemet Ali's character, or to set up as a standard, my own opinion of him, than by a simple and faithful narration of the transactions between him and me, of what I saw of him, and heard from his own lips, and the reflections it called forth in my mind, as far as discretion will allow me to do so, to place the reader in a position to obtain from all this something like a correct and faithful portrait of this prince.

The requisite traits will be found dispersed throughout this book, a disposition unavoidable

in its compilation, but it will not be difficult for the reader to collect them together in his memory ; and the materials, besides, are so copious, that a separate elaboration of them might have proved tedious. This prerogative is only accorded to classic authors, whom I must admire without daring to imitate them. In this point of view I wish my humble endeavours to portray Mehemet Ali to be regarded for the future.

His Highness received me in a lower apartment of the palace, which was filled by a number of respectful retainers of the court and state. After passing through their ranks, I saw the Viceroy standing apart from them on the dais before his ottoman, with Artim Bey his dragoman, by his side. My astonishment was great, for according to the busts I had seen at Alexandria, and some few portraits, said to be likenesses, I had pictured to myself a severe, hard-featured man, in a rich oriental costume, with features which forcibly reminded me in the busts of those of Oliver Cromwell.

Instead of that a low-sized, kind-looking old man, of strong but well proportioned form, stood before me, clad in a simple, brown fur

garb, whose venerable white beard blended singularly with the white fur trimming of his coat; he wore a plain red tarboosh, without shawl or jewels on his head, or rings on his fingers, or, according to oriental custom, holding a costly rosary in his hand, (which, by the way, is so well formed, that a lady might envy it), his whole attire in short was remarkable for nothing but freshness of colour and cleanliness. His features indicated simple dignity and benevolent kindness of disposition; and although he seemed to look through me with his sparkling eagle eyes, the grace of his smile, and the affability of his manners inspired me with an involuntary affection for him, and not the slightest fear. This impression, as I subsequently had an opportunity of observing, entirely corresponded with the manners of his courtiers, who conversed with him in a confidential and unembarrassed way, though marked with respect; whilst he treated them generally with great urbanity, though at the same time with nice shades of distinction.

Nothing is more easy than to obtain an audience of the Viceroy. No sovereign can be more accessible, or take fewer precautions for his personal safety, than Mehemet Ali, who

lays himself fearlessly open to any attempt a fanatic may choose to make on his life. How could he dare to act thus, if he were the tyrant that absurd ignorance, and malevolent intention so frequently depict him in Europe.

It cannot however be denied that, notwithstanding Mehemet Ali's affable manners, and his mild and benevolent expression, which gives him the appearance of one of the best tempered of living monarchs, his features sometimes, especially in moments when he does not think himself observed, assume a peculiar expression of bitter distrust, when the less genial Turkish elements, of which the Viceroy no doubt possesses his share, are in the ascendant. Much may be read in this book that forms perhaps the dark side of his character, but I do not wish to suppress it, for dark and bright sides are as necessary to the character of a great man, as to that of other mortals.

After the first greetings, the Viceroy took a seat and motioned to me to sit down on the ottoman beside him, when pipes and coffee were brought in.

I must here introduce a short notice of the eti-

quette of reception in the East, and more especially in Egypt; with which few of my readers are probably acquainted, and a correct understanding of which is not without interest. More ceremony is observed here in this respect than amongst us, and the gradations are nicely defined.

In the first place, when two persons meet, you can at once tell their respective ranks, by their mode of salutation. The highest in rank always greets first. He who is of higher standing lays his hand on his breast, whilst the inferior in rank raises his hand towards his breast and then towards his forehead, and even sometimes repeats this twice. Equals, or persons between whom only a slight difference of rank exists, salute each other either mutually in the same manner, or by a movement of the hand towards the face, similar to that we make in kissing our hand to another. Persons very inferior in rank use the pantomime of lifting earth from the ground and laying it on their breast and forehead, as a symbol of subjection. It sometimes happens, however, that Generals and Pashas make use of this ceremonial towards the Viceroy, who himself salutes his inferiors by laying his hand on his body, but strangers

whom he wishes to distinguish, by raising his hand towards his face.

Persons must be of nearly equal rank to be permitted to sit on the same ottoman, and the modes of seating themselves, are according to the different degrees of respect due to individuals threefold. 1. On the edge of the ottoman, with both legs crossed. 2. On both knees, fully occupying the seat, but at a slight distance and without reclining. 3. Making oneself comfortable according to taste, where persons are intimate and equals. To offer coffee and pipes is a mark of honour; but the shades of difference are here likewise manifold, and are in part expressed by the greater or less costliness of the material.

Whoever has the privilege of sitting down, is, as a rule, treated with coffee; but the presentation of the pipe is a greater mark of distinction. No one is allowed to receive a pipe or coffee, or anything in fact, even were it a glass of water, (excepting at table where all ceremonies cease) without, at the commencement and end, thanking the empty vessel or pipe with a salutation; even the host himself, at his own house, when a personage of higher rank is paying him a visit, salutes him, thank-

ing him for everything which his own servants present him with. Thus the higher in rank always takes precedence, be he the host in his own house, or a guest in another.

These established formalities are of great convenience as soon as we get acquainted with them, and appear to me on that account to be preferable to the present manners of Europe, those of England excepted, where the rules of etiquette are firmly established, for in other countries we know not, what are the pretensions of other persons, nor what we owe ourselves, and are always embarrassed by the fear of doing too much or too little. Thus in one of the principal German States, distinguished in matters of importance by so much excellence, and where even still greater things may be expected, we find in this respect, a very sensible defect as regards the *convenances* of society. There the principle of servitude so much prevails, that those only participate in the distinction of a certain rank and respect, who belong to the hierarchy of the court or state; whilst every man who stands without this category, never knows for certain to which class he belongs; for a variable *status* is accorded him, as caprice or humour dictates.

A man need neither be a stickler for rank or title, to find this exceedingly inconvenient, as no one likes to be humbled himself or to humble others, an unavoidable result where this uncertainty prevails, but impossible where the rules of precedence are fixed.

A fool only will feel annoyed when another has the acknowledged and decided right to consider himself as standing above him in the scale of society, let his origin be what it may; but if he appears to assume it, it is a sort of injury, and offensive to that indisputable right of precedence accorded by the highest in authority. England is decidedly the most free and liberal country in Europe, and among this practical people we find the ranks and grades of society so arbitrarily fixed, that a dispute about precedence is a thing totally unheard of. In Russia, those who are in the service of the state alone enjoy a rank; and the Emperor's state coachman would take precedence of a descendant of the most ancient Boyar family provided the latter did not hold a title in virtue of his services. This may appear strange, but it is nevertheless true; in the East, however, it is different, for there every one knows what he has to expect.

When Louis the Fourteenth was pleased to institute an order of precedence, which gave offence to the peers, a few of them ventured to remonstrate with the king, who asked *M. Le-grand* as the *grand écuyer* was then called for brevity's sake: "*Eh vous, qu'en dites vous ?*" the latter answered: "*Sire, tout ce que je sais c'est que le charbonnier est maître chez lui.*"

An absolute ruler can, no doubt, settle the matter as he pleases, and it appears to me a practical inconvenience to leave it in an undecided state.

That these uncertain relations between the ranks of birth, service and merit, must not only frequently wound the feelings of the most modest, but are even capable of inflicting a positive injury on individuals; I could prove most clearly, by relating several illustrations of it but this would be touching on personalities, which recalls to my mind the oriental saying—"if to speak be worth silver, it is worth gold to be silent." In the eyes of the parsimonious I have, perhaps, already expended too much silver.

His Highness, the Viceroy, treated me at my reception with the utmost courtesy, and the only marked difference in the attendance

upon us was, that although the pipes were brought by two servants at the same time to us, his was presented to him a few seconds before mine; the pipe, but not the cup, intended for me was, however, as richly set with diamonds as his own.

This mark of distinction was the more flattering as it had been shewn only to a few persons before: viz. to Marshal Marmont, on his return from India, and to an Ambassador extraordinary from France to the Porte during the war, who, though he had not exactly this official character, was not unwillingly regarded and treated in this light by Mehemet Ali. When Consuls General were present I saw only coffee handed to them in common cups—and without pipes, while neither coffee nor pipes were presented to the Mussulmen, in the service of the Viceroy, not even to Ibu-el-Aun, shereef of Mecca, whom I met twice at his Highness' palace. He was a fine, intelligent looking, black Arab, dressed, as the prophet's relation, in an emerald green robe, with a white turban.

In his manner towards the Viceroy he was exceedingly humble, and took his seat, certainly on the ottoman, but at a great distance

from him, and in what I have called the second position, on his knees. The Viceroy only allows Pashas of the first class, who are at the same time his favorites, to sit next him and have coffee handed to them.

Of course exceptions are made in individual cases as his will is always law. One of those so favored was Mehemet Bey, of whom I have before made mention, and I heard a very amusing anecdote related about him in connection with this ceremonial.

Mehemet Bey had granted an increase of salary to a very active officer in his department, on his own responsibility, at which the Viceroy, who was immediately, secretly, informed of the fact, took umbrage. The next time Mehemet Bey came to pay him a visit, he gave him not only a reproof but also a mark of his displeasure by not having coffee handed him. The offended Bey left without saying a word. Immediately on reaching home he made out an official order, encreasing the pay of the officer in question by four purses annually, adding, that should the Viceroy refuse to confirm the order he would pay the money out of his own pocket. On the next day he appeared as usual before his Highness—and how did the tyrant Mehemet Ali act?

Scarcely did he perceive his old friend, who no doubt felt uneasy at the boldness of his own conduct ; when laughing heartily he called for coffee and added :—

“ Come here, I shall take care in future not to withhold your coffee from you, for I see that I have to pay dearly for it.”

I have no doubt that many of my readers will regard these ceremonious details as trivial, but in my opinion they are essential in a description of the customs and manners of Egypt.

I began the conversation with the usual compliments as to his health, which is also a matter of etiquette with the inhabitants of the East, and then hastened to express my thanks for the courtesy and generous hospitality his Highness had condescended to shew towards me, and which I believe was not altogether in accordance with Turkish customs ; for Mehemet Ali smiled and shook his head, and then good naturedly replied.

“ When a foreigner of distinction comes from such a distance to visit me, the least I can do in return, is to express my gratification at the compliment, by giving him the best reception in my power ; but I regret to say,” he added with much *bonhomie*, “ that you

will find everything here very imperfect when contrasted with Europe."

This of course gave me an opportunity of expressing my astonishment at the wonders I had already seen at Alexandria and Kahira, and I begged his Highness to excuse me, if the enthusiasm these extraordinary undertakings had excited in my mind, should give my words the appearance of flattery, as they were only the expression of my real sentiments, and of the high esteem I felt for a prince who was to the East what Peter the Great had been to Russia; for the formidably increasing power of the latter country by sea and land owes its foundation to him alone.

"How long," Mehemet Ali quickly interposed, "did Peter the Great take to establish his navy, and of how many ships did it consist?"

I must confess, that at the moment, I neither knew the one nor the other, but bearing the rule in mind, that the questions of great men must not be left unanswered, I mentioned some figures in reply to his practical question, which, fortunately, no one was present to contest; adding quickly, that in the Czar's time this department was in a much more imperfect state than at present, consequently that the

results he obtained must have been, in every respect, inferior to the undertakings of his Highness, which stood forth as a singular example in the history of the East.

“Well,” Mehemet Ali continued, “I cannot deny that we have done more than every-day work here, and I have certainly endeavoured to follow the example of great men as far as it lay in my power. It is also true that I can now continue my labours with more tranquillity. I do not stand so totally isolated as before ; they are now beginning to understand me, and the machinery is in motion ; but my grandchildren will be the first to reap the benefits of what I have sown. Where a total confusion prevailed—where a complete dissolution of all the necessary elements of a wholesome policy had taken place—where a barbarous and ignorant people, incapacitated for all useful employments, existed, as was the case here, civilisation could only slowly re-establish itself. You know that Egypt was once the first country in the world, and shone forth as a light to other nations ; now it is Europe. In time, the march of intellect will, perhaps, choose this country for its seat ; the world is eternally on the wing, (a favorite expression with the Pasha.)

He now asked me what I thought of Candia, and I could only conscientiously reply, that I had nowhere found the Greeks more truly free, affluent, and even contented, than there ; and that I was convinced that the Viceroy's severity, during a partial insurrection, fomented by influence from without, had contributed as much towards bringing about this pleasing state of things, as his impartial justice and clemency at a subsequent period.

“ They had attacked my honour as a ruler,” the Viceroy exclaimed with warmth, “ and that no Prince can suffer, who knows his duty and respects himself. As regards the rest, I have always been willing to do all in my power for my Greek subjects ; yes, I even offered, when the European powers were constantly making representations to me on this subject, to govern Candia according to the plan which European wisdom might itself suggest for Greece, and only begged to be supplied, as quickly as possible, with the necessary instructions ; but these I never received.”

The irony of this speech was too broad to be overlooked ; I therefore, hastened to turn the conversation to the factories and new plantations, intended to improve the cultivation of

the country, and in so doing, hit upon the Viceroy's hobby—truly not unworthy of a Sovereign !

“ I hope,” said he, “ you are contented with what has already been done, although it must not be judged by an European standard. This country,” he added, “ will soon be placed in a condition to rely, at least for a time, on its own resources, independent of other countries and their products. It is on this account, and not for the sake of gain, although I am not insensible to the latter, that I build such a number of large factories. Besides, these establishments,” continued Mehemet Ali, “ are, in more than one respect, one of the most powerful means of civilising a people, and will, at the same time,” he added, the expression of his countenance lighting up, “ furnish me, at a moment's notice, with an additional forty thousand good soldiers : but I rather wish that the fates would permit me to devote all my energies to commerce and agriculture. I have only gone to war where war was unavoidable, and am far from liking it.”

It is true that Napoleon used to say the same—I however, made use of this favourable opportunity to turn the conversation on Ibra-

him's glorious campaigns. Although Mehemet Ali had, previously, dismissed the whole Court by a nod, and we were now enjoying a *tête-à-tête*, yet, he would only express himself on this subject in common place sentences, or, if the reader please, in diplomatic phrases. He smiled, however, when I told him that his Highness's case was, probably, similar to that of Field Marshal Suwaroff, who used to say, "he did not like war; but that war liked him," "and I perceived at once," I continued, "at the docks of Alexandria how well his Highness understood how to obtain the means of carrying on war by war itself," meaning the wood for his ships, of which he formerly experienced a deficiency, while Adana at present yields abundant and excellent materials for this purpose. Mehemet Ali's clouded brow betrayed, at this speech, that he thought more of the matter in question than he pretended. Certain it is, that he must now perfectly understand that his delay after the battle of Konieh, where he was surprised by unexpected good fortune, was the sole grand political error which, up to the present time, history is able to reproach him with. Persons acquainted with the political events of that period know

very well that Ibrahim, if he had had his father's permission to occupy Brussa, and penetrate to Constantinople, a matter of no difficulty, in a military sense, after that battle, he might have dictated terms of peace to the Sultan before Russia could have interposed its authority with an armed force. The European powers had, for many years, and for good reasons, stood in too great a fear of war, and watched each other too jealously to oppose, with resolution, a solid *status quo* anywhere, as experience has, on all occasions proved, since Napoleon's death. In the present case, the diplomatists would, no doubt, have worn out a few millions of pens, and have consumed a corresponding quantity of paper and ink, and the minutes of their conferences might not, perhaps, have been as yet closed ; but the "Grand Pasha," as foreigners here call him, would have been no less firm in his position, and would, perhaps, have avoided the later catastrophe, and be now a self crowned, partially acknowledged, independent monarch, like Louis Philippe, in France ; King Leopold, in Belgium, and Donna Maria de Gloria, in Portugal, not to speak of St. Domingo, the Spanish colonies, and Spain itself, in which

latter country the ultimate conqueror will be nowhere at a loss for acknowledgments. The Poles themselves would have found acknowledgments enough, if they had known how to conquer.

I, for my part, believe that all parties would have gained by such a termination of affairs, even the Sultan himself, who cannot govern Syria, and who, were he to ~~recognise~~ Egypt, would only be nominally able to keep possession of it. He would perhaps have done wiser to consolidate his sway over the mighty kingdom more favoured by nature than most other countries, which remained his own, by civilisation and gradual reform, than to endeavour to re-gain the provinces which had forcibly freed themselves from his yoke. He ought also in reason to have preferred a free Mahomedan sovereign for his neighbour, whom interest would have made the most natural ally of the Porte, from the moment that his independence was acknowledged, to an enemy with the *pro forma* title of a dependent Pasha, ready to seize upon every favourable opportunity for open demonstrations of enmity. He ought further to have considered that Mehemet Ali, was ready to make any

reasonable pecuniary sacrifice for this concession, a resource, which would have been more welcome to the Turkish finances in the condition they are in, than the re-capture of disaffected provinces, which cost more than they return. How often in all probability has the Spanish government repented of its tardiness in treating with its revolutionary colonies under similar circumstances.

It cannot be doubted that the general peace of Europe could not have been secured for a long period by any other means. Certainly, Mehemet Ali's own countries and a large portion of Africa would have gained considerable advantages, had this prince been enabled to employ the immense sums his precarious position forced him to expend on a fleet of fifty ships, and an army of nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men, including irregular troops, on the arts of peace, and for the permanent improvement of the condition of his subjects. The arts and sciences, the dawning civilisation of a whole quarter of the globe, were equally concerned in the affair—and it seemed an anomaly both in practice and in theory to endeavour to place the illegitimacy of Mehemet

Ali, in opposition to so many important interests, more especially as the idea of legitimacy is not the same in the east as with us.

Admitting his throne not to have been legitimate, but at the same time so firmly rooted that it could not be overthrown by force, the best plan for establishing the future peace and stability of the east, would have been to render it legitimate, the sooner the better, and so to shut up a yawning barrel of powder liable to explosion from the first passing spark.

To Mehemet Ali, it was essential that, for his own safety and that of his family, and for the interests of the great work of his eventful life, the independence he had struggled for and *de facto* gained should be *de jure* acknowledged.

He had also a right to cherish this hope, for in all other cases this principle had been acted upon. Had not the Sultan as good a title to Greece as to Syria and Egypt? and is King Otho at present a vassal of the Porte? Had not the Sultan the same legitimate claims to Algiers as to the Egyptian countries, and does Louis Philippe acknowledge that superiority of the Porte which the Dey formerly submitted to? or was not Mehemet Ali suf-

ficiently confirmed in the authority he exercised ?

He is at the present moment a far more independent and respected ruler over the country he has retained, than King Otho in Greece, the French in Algeria, or the Sultan in his own dominions.

If Mehemet Ali had seized the fortunate moment, and, when he had won the battle, added the weight of a conqueror to the title, and placed the crown on his head with a bold hand, neither the sword nor the pen would have been able to deprive him of it. To try to obtain what he then neglected as a rash enterprise, by means of negociation, was a weakness, and success was impossible, even if he had had the best reasons in the world in his favour. In politics as in love there are things "*qui se font mais qui ne se disent pas*," and although the European powers, in a moment of chivalrous intoxication, fancied themselves justified in proceeding to the battle of Navarino, during a time of peace, in order to further the cause of Greek independence, it was doubtful whether they would have shown the same sympathy for the kingdom of the Pharaohs. Some few antiquarians, geographers and historians would

perhaps have exerted themselves from a predilection for the cause, but these kind of people have not generally fleets and armies at their command ; I am therefore afraid that our poet Schiller's words—

“ Eternity never recalls what a moment has lost,”

will prove correct in Mehemet Ali's case, to the detriment of the peace of Europe and Asia, and to the disadvantage of the arts and sciences, for which a new era had begun to dawn in an advancing civilisation, and perhaps to the ultimate ruin of Egypt itself.

In the above passage the impress of the times in which it was written may be easily detected, but I ask every unprejudiced man of the present day, what has the world gained by crushing Mehemet Ali by superior force ? Has it rendered Turkey more independent, or is Syria or Candia happier, more civilised, richer, or better governed for the quantity of blood shed ? In short, has any one power, or I might say any one individual gained by it ? On the contrary, how much was lost, perhaps for centuries—how many germs of dangerous principles were disseminated by its means ?

In elucidation of what I have just broached I will only refer among other testimonies of a recent date, to the letter published by M. Von Wildenbruck, the Prussian Consul in Syria, in the monthly reports of the Geological Society of Berlin, which begins thus—

“Of the state of political affairs, think the very worst, and you will approach the truth. Everything here, even to the feeling towards the Franks is in a worse condition, more inimical, in greater disorder, less safe, and in a poorer and more hopeless state, than during the period of my first visit to the east. Everything is falling into decay, and dissolution is advancing with a rapidity I never should have expected in this otherwise non-progressive country. Only the purses of the Pashas and the European merchants, who equal them in want of conscientiousness, are flourishing. This unhappy country has for centuries known only one benefactor, Ibrahim Pasha, and that one has been driven from it ! With astonishment I find that not a man, be his creed what it may, wishes for anything but the restoration of the Egyptian sway. The single exception to this rule, are a few

favoured Mahomedan fanatics, backed by the higher authorities, who are delighted at being able to shoot a Raja for a fine of fifty piastres, (equal to four and sixpence.) This occurred shortly after my arrival, in spite of the fine words of Guelhaeh.

“Ibrahim had established perfect order in the country, done wonders for agriculture, and debarred the officials from unlimited speculation; but all trace of this has disappeared, and the last bulwark of a better and freer state, the Lebanon itself, will soon be plunged into the vortex of universal ruin. The Turkish government which, once and for all, I beg to distinguish from the Turkish people, so estimable as individuals, has in a great measure broken the strength of the Druses and Maronites, by setting them at variance with each other, a people who had preserved their freedom for centuries; and now that both of them see with horror the possible and probable consequences of their dissensions, now that the prospect of European civilisation, extending to their state, seems more distant than ever, they want the mutual confidence necessary for unity of action, &c.”

Mehemet Ali, who has heard all this, perhaps

still cherishes sanguine hopes as regards the future.

When I was formerly in Egypt, his repeated assurances could only convince me, that he was as anxious for a peaceable adjustment of his affairs by European intervention, in order to turn the whole force of his genius to the welfare of his country, as he was, on the other hand, satisfied of the truth, that to obtain an acknowledgment of his independence in any possible way, was, to him, a vital question; perhaps, the very condition on which his existence depended; or, at all events, the stability of his institutions for the present, as well as for history.

I say an acknowledgment of his independence, for he never strove for more; and, nothing can be more absurd, or shew a greater ignorance of the Turkish government, religion, and institutions, than the apprehension so frequently expressed, that Mehemet Ali wished to depose the Sultan, and place himself on the throne.

Mehemet Ali could no more do this in Turkey, than Prince Metternich, with the weight of all his influence, could make himself Pope in Christendom. To force the Sultan to make

him Grand Vizier, and thus, to govern the country for him, would have been within the power of the Viceroy, as conqueror, and might have been—although I do not, for one moment, think so—one of his own wishes. Certain it is, however, that had these wishes been fulfilled, they would have been of more benefit to Turkey, than Mehemet Ali's destruction.

That Mehemet Ali's endeavours to civilize his country, as far as his perception goes, should be, as they generally are, ridiculed, when judged by our scale; I find both narrow-minded, and inconsistent with historical truth.

Egypt could not, at once, become a civilized state, according to European notions, even were it to fall to-morrow, under the dominion of France or England. Only turn over David Hume's pages and you will convince yourself, that, during the reign of Henry VIII., and, even that of Elizabeth, the state of England, was, in many respects, similar to that of Egypt, at the present day; and, even worse, as regarded religious intolerance.

There we find that the abuses of monopoly, which caused the greatest out-cry, bri-

bery, immorality on the part of those in office, and the inordinately arbitrary power of the ruler, (for Parliament then, had no more influence, than a Turkish divan), were quite analogous.

And, yet, the English nation—such as it is at present—the first, the most enlightened, and most powerful nation in the world, has gradually developed itself, from these defective elements, which clearly proves, 1st. That every organic change in a country, although always more or less owing to an impulse given by great individuals, must have small beginnings, and be attended with defects and uncertainties; for, it is only by experience, and after innumerable errors, that we can find out, what constitutes its real welfare. 2nd. That, on this account, it is the highest degree of absurdity, continually to judge of Egyptian affairs by our present European standard, and, to expect from their institutions, both as regards the governors, and the governed, the same results obtained from ours. We ought, rather to compare Europe, during the middle ages, with Egypt at the present day; and the latter, again under the government of the Mamelukes, and under Mehemet Ali.

The Viceroy's exertions, as long as they

were unfettered, undoubtedly, tended to establish the chief conditions of civilization in the East—viz., order, security, and a taste for enterprise. For this alone, he deserves, in spite of his many defects and errors, the thanks of posterity. But to return to my audience.

My last topic of conversation with Mehemet Ali, on this occasion, was another favorite theme with him, i.e., the education of children; and, he described to me, with enthusiasm, all he had, as yet, done in this respect. Whoever has heard him speak on this subject, and seen, with his own eyes, the beneficial results produced in a short space of time, must be *purposely* blind, if he will not acknowledge, that this prince has, frequently, assumed the appearance of inconsiderate egotism to *be enabled* to become the benefactor of his people for centuries; or, that he, at least, returns all he has wrested, and still takes from impotent hands, with well-meaning views, to an increasing, and advancing population, which is progressing slowly, but steadily, towards a complete regeneration.

He certainly neither possesses considerable funds, nor does he entertain a costly court; for, notwithstanding the rapid increase of his

revenues—which surpass those of the kingdom of Prussia—he is, frequently, at a loss, how to defray his current expenses, because he lays little or nothing by; being continually engaged in new undertakings.* As I before observed, he both gives and takes.

In no country are the servants of the state proportionately half as well paid as here; so that they can very well afford to bear with a little irregularity in the payment; a system, I must, however, condemn as defective, and impolitic, as the cause is generally, some petty or malevolent feeling. Besides the number of factories, canals, and stupendous aqueducts, hospitals, and institutions of every kind, calculated to further the progress of civilization; there

* On that account, the *Courrier de Smyrne* reports, “Mehemet Ali’s finances to be in the most lamentable state;” observing, in addition, that he has anticipated the revenues of one entire year. If this were true, —which is not the case—Mehemet Ali must, nevertheless, proportionately pass, for one of the richest princes in the world; for, what state in Europe, has not anticipated its revenues by one, by twenty, or even, by one hundred years.

are, at the present moment, no less than ninety five public buildings in progress in Kahira, and its vicinity ; while eleven thousand children, and young men, are *clothed, fed, instructed*, and even RECEIVE PAY, in educational establishments, with a liberality unknown to us, at the expense of the Viceroy !

The administration of the system of instruction—unequalled for its munificence and grandeur—is briefly this : Each province is provided with several primary schools, for instruction in the first rudiments, where children, as in all the other schools of the Viceroy, receive free lodging, food, clothing, and a stipend, varying, from fifteen to thirty piastres per month.

Hence, they are removed to the grand preparatory schools ; one of which, is at Kahira, the other at Alexandria ; and, where their pay rises to between thirty and fifty piastres.

After a course of studies, which lasts four years, they enter the higher schools ; the so-called polytechnic school at Bulac, that of foreign languages at Kahira, that of artillery at Thura, of the cavalry at Dshishèh, of infantry at Damietta, of marine at Alexandria, and of medicine at

Abou-Zabel ; in all of which, the scholarships are worth, from one hundred, to two hundred piastres monthly.

In these institutions, to whose number a school of music has lately been added, several teachers, and the greater number of the present officers of state have already been educated, and besides this, many individuals are continually sent to Europe to perfect their education in various branches. Those who learn a trade, and give proofs of talent, the Viceroy frequently furnishes with a capital of as much as 12,000 piastres, and pays for their establishments, down to the very workshops and store-houses, many of which may be seen, springing up in all directions through the town, and are easily recognised by the elegance and solidity of their structure.

I have already, on a former occasion, observed, that the navy is provided for with similar liberality, and furnished with its own institutions; but all these things do not constitute half of what the Viceroy has effected for his people.

For instance, he is now introducing vaccination, and as the lower orders are prejudiced against it, he pays a piastre to the parents of each child vaccinated.

In the hospital, at the head of which is placed the indefatigable Clot Bey, although originally intended for the military, every patient who desires admission is received, and those for whom there is no room, receive at least medicine gratis.

The aversion of the natives to hospitals prevents them however from making proper use of this privilege.

“ I have always,” the Viceroy observed, “ been obliged to use force with the people here for their own good, or to pay them for it.”

On taking leave, Mehemet Ali, at my request, offered me his hand, according to European custom, although this is not usual here ; but he acceded to it with the same cordiality with which I had made the request, pleased with the evident respect he elicited in my enthusiastic mind. He then courteously added, that he was shortly about to depart for Upper Egypt, and as he had heard that I had the same intention, my company would be agreeable to him, and that I might also visit him every day, when convenient to myself, as long as he stayed here.

After this gracious speech, he dis-

missed me with an expression of dignified benevolence, which will ever remain as deeply impressed on my memory as his remarkable words.

Although on nearer acquaintance my further conversations with Mehemet Ali encreased in interest, as he gained more confidence in me, the first impresssion retained its full effect, and formed, as it were, the sketch from which the perfect picture was afterwards developed.

An extract from an official report in M.S. of Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, acknowledged to be one of the most distinguished men in England, respecting an audience with Mehemet Ali, which took place a few years before mine, may not be uninteresting to the reader, as it is in every respect a very curious document.

Sir John Malcolm thus writes:—

“ I will now endeavour to report what took place between Mehemet Ali and myself on this occasion.”

“ You have been in Egypt before,” said the Pasha, “ and judging from what then took place, and the communications, I have since received, I view you in the light of an old friend. No one will be better able to

judge how persevering I have been in following out the plans already known to you, and how far I was able to execute them. Your intimate acquaintance with India, Arabia, and Persia, and with the spirit of those countries, renders you better able than others to form a correct judgment, on what has taken place in Egypt, and you will accordingly be able to conclude how far the present state of Egypt renders her worthy of a political connection with England. Now, as occurrences of no small importance are impending in the East, and as I wish to communicate to you my views, I shall do so in full confidence, as if you were my friend, and I hope that you, although you are not here in an official capacity, will take an opportunity to inform the English Ministry of them."

I answered the Pasha that, as he was aware, I held no public office at the time, but as he nevertheless honoured me from motives of friendship, with his confidence, I would feel pleasure in complying with his wishes; but I could promise no more than to give a candid answer, if my opinion were asked, and could not guarantee for certain that it would meet with attention.

“Your Government,” continued Mehemet Ali, “betrays in all its negociations with me much coldness, not to say, indifference, while I do every thing to conciliate it. This stands in very marked contrast with the conduct of France, which seizes every opportunity, even the most trivial, to win me over by the most flattering attentions.”

This difference, I replied, had, in my opinion, its origin more in the nature of our constitution than in a want of friendship or neglect towards his highness. Our character also was quite the reverse of that of the French, and if we did not, like them, watch every opportunity to render ourselves agreeable to him, *he would still, I was convinced, observe that in all cases of emergency, we were quite as candid as the French, and much more useful friends!*

“Well, I believe it,” continued the Pasha, “and when I wish for a change, in the coolness which England shows towards me, it arises from other considerations than mere personal gratification. I desire, in the eyes of the world, to be favoured by a nation, *on which I am well aware, I am wholly dependent* in every thing that regards the prosperity of my

kingdom, and the success of my present and future plans. But I also believe that these plans entirely coincide with the true interests of England, and before I continue to disclose to you my whole mind, I must revert for a moment to what has recently happened."

Hereupon he detailed to me the mission of Lieutenant-Colonel Craddock, Mr. Barker's negotiations to persuade him to join the French in the capture of Algiers, his own refusal, the satisfaction of the English ministry at his candid explanation of his line of conduct, and the motives that influenced him.

"I am afraid," he continued, "that the dissolution of the Turkish Empire is inevitable, be it sooner or later. It may be averted for some time, but in my opinion it cannot possibly be prevented altogether. It is my intention to form a barrier, behind which those who are of my belief, and who do not wish to submit to the yoke of Russia, may unite themselves; an object to be attained by my extending my power over the whole of Syria, and then advancing to the boundaries of Persia. This may seem to you a visionary project, but I have the means, and can supply those that are wanting, to ensure entire success.

“ My possession of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and the authority which I already enjoy in Arabia, will promote this plan to an extraordinary degree; and I hope that in Constantinople it will be viewed in its proper light, *as indeed the Ottoman Empire can but gain strength by it.* I do not despair of making this evident to the Sultan in a friendly way, as he must at length perceive that in the present state of things, this wretched and jealous policy which has so long proved ruinous to all the Turkish provinces, by a continued series of fresh rulers, and fresh insurrections, must be abandoned!

“ All that I want, all that I desire is, that England may assure me her friendship, in order that my mind may be at rest; that I may know for certain, that while I am refraining from all communication with other Christian States, I need fear no hostility from the nation whose true interests are perfectly compatible with the plans which I have already executed, or intend to execute. England must wish that Egypt should stand as firm as she does now; first on account of its near connection with India; secondly, in order that a barrier not easily removed may oppose the progress of Russia, in

Asia. The Turkish as well as the Persian thrones have been shaken on that side ; more effective means are necessary than either of these sovereigns possesses, to arrest the tide of conquest, and you may judge from what you have seen, whether I am the man to do it.

“ I know,” he continued, “ that the policy of England follows the principle of non-interference ; but I desire neither money, nor troops, nor engagements ; I only want England’s assurances of friendship, and a disposition of candour towards me ; but these are essential to me, for I feel myself paralyzed as long as I cannot reckon, *with full confidence*, on your country as one that observes, with pleasure, the increase of my power, because it is convinced that this power keeps equal pace with the progress of reform and of civilization in a part of the globe, which has been hitherto the field of prejudice, ignorance and barbarism.”

In order not to tire the reader, I pass over several pages of this long audience, the contents of which are less important, and simply tend to elucidate that which has already been stated.

Finally, Sir John assured the Pasha that he would not only represent everything that he

had heard faithfully to the ministry, but also what he had seen.

“Do so,” was Mehemet Ali’s reply ; “*and make as candid and true a report as you think I deserve.* You live in communion with oriental Princes, and have been employed longer in Asia than in Europe. You have been both an ambassador and governor ; you came to Egypt ten years ago, and saw everything as it was. I then communicated my plans to you. You have returned, and are, yourself, the best judge whether I have kept my word. *Tell nothing but the truth, and what you consider suited to the wholesome policy of your country.*”

I shall, also, pass over, as superfluous, all the flattering expressions which Sir John added respecting Mehemet Ali. The latter recommends himself sufficiently in this conversation, and the reader can judge who appears here as the most candid individual, and the greatest statesman, Mehemet Ali, who was subsequently overthrown, or Lord Palmerston, his oppressor, who represented the power of England.

I, too, found the Viceroy still disposed to confide in England, and earnestly desiring to gain its favour, although he had already begun to

incline to the French side. He has since frequently remembered, no doubt, how I warned him neither to hope for England's friendship nor to rely upon the faith of France ; but I must confess, that I was perfectly in error in believing the policy of Austria to be more favorably inclined towards him, because it appeared to me the interest of Austria to desire to see a great power established in Asia, as her commerce with Egypt and Syria was always on the increase, and she could have no private views to serve in the downfall of Mehemet Ali.

The principle of legitimacy, founded on chivalrous notions, I thought still less likely to stand good in the Orient than in Greece, where it had never been attempted. My *refrain* was always to convince Mehemet Ali, that our first rule of right in Europe was "*beati possidentes.*" Let him conquer and take firm possession, and he would soon be acknowledged by both friend, and foe. This would probably have happened had he not twice neglected to profit by his victories, and had he not before as well as subsequently negotiated too much with the European powers.

CHAPTER X.

THE TOWN.—THE CITADEL.

AFTER my audience with the Viceroy, I rode through the other part of these beautiful promenades, on the confines of which, where they are not as yet completed, may be seen piles of ruins similar to those which I have before stated, formerly occupied the entire space of these extensive plantations.

Shortly after reaching the high road, which is bordered by rows of trees and leads in a straight line from Bulak to Cairo, I passed the western gate Bab-el Gueniné, and entered the celebrated square Eskebieh, which for some

time past has been subject to as many mutations as its already described environs. Formerly it was inundated by the Nile during part of the year, thus impeding all passage to the land. This is now obviated, by the whole square, which takes more than half an hour to walk round, being enclosed with a regular dyke, which surrounds, in the time of inundation, a large lake, but during the remainder of the year a green clover field, and, being planted with trees, forms a shady promenade. This dyke is surrounded by a canal twenty feet wide, which is connected by sluices with the lake, emptying its waters into it, and divides the dyke from the road which runs round the square.

This road is one hundred feet in width, and is bordered on the outer side by houses, on the inner by rows of trees. Under their dense foliage one may enjoy, at all times, a pleasing prospect, sometimes of the lake, sometimes, when this has disappeared, of the green meadow. The Eskebieh, is surrounded on three sides by beautiful palaces, in the oriental style, several of which are of historical interest, and on the fourth, by the high and dark, but, nevertheless, picturesque wooden houses of the Copti. Among the palaces, the most re-

markable is that in which Napoleon resided, and which is still in a good state of preservation ; the next, in interest, is the one in which Kleber took up his head-quarters, and in the garden of which, that brave man was murdered by the fanatic Soliman. A woman in the adjoining house betrayed to the party of soldiers in search of him, the murderer, who had descended into a *saki*, close to the spot of the murder, where, but for this circumstance, the French would, probably, never have gone to look for him.

Soliman undertook to kill Kleber, in order to obtain the liberation of his father, who was detained in prison, and whose liberty the Pasha of Damascus promised to restore on that condition. The assassin was so exalted in his fanaticism, that even when on the spike, a short time before his death, he spat out with a gesture of contempt, when he saw Mr. Bokti, the present Prussian Consul, at Cairo, who, himself, related to me the fact, approaching with another Frank. Kleber's palace is now the residence of the minister of public instruction ; the garden, however, belongs to the magnificent palace of his Highness's daughter, the widow of the celebrated Defterdar,

whose dreadful cruelties are still fresh in the memory of both foreigners and natives, at Cairo. I regarded the greater part of these stories as the probable inventions of malice, until I heard the most incredible things confirmed by the testimony of respectable and impartial eye witnesses. There must be natures predestined to resemble the tiger, as well as there are some that resemble the lamb; at any rate, it would be impossible for any one to speak of his own blood-thirsty propensities with more *naïveté* than the Defterdar did. He once complained, in a conversation with the French Consul, of the invincible obstinacy of the Bedouins.

“Only fancy,” he said, “what happened to me lately. Two of those fellows boasted to me of their father, and called him a bullock. ‘Well,’ replied I, ‘if your father was a bullock, your mother must have been a cow.’ Would you believe it?” he continued, “that I could not get these obstinate fellows to agree with this very simple reasoning? Nothing could overcome their obstinacy. So to render them a little more tractable, I first ordered their right hands to be cut off, and then I again put the question to them. As this proved of no

avail, I had the left hand, and then one foot after the other cut off, and still the dogs kept to their opinion, that their father had been a bullock, but that their mother nevertheless had *not* been a cow. At last I lost my patience, and ordered what remained of them to be thrown into the Nile, where, until they sank, they, with their last breath, spitefully stammered out: ‘*no cow!*’”

Other equally terrible and, unfortunately, equally true instances of barbarity may be found in several books of travels. This Defterdar was, for all that, according to general testimony, a man of noble demeanour and great dignity of deportment, full of bravery and sagacity, and so learned for a Turk, that we are indebted to him for a tolerably correct map of the Senaar, sketched and drawn by himself during his horrible campaign of revenge for the murder of Ismael at Schendi. He was usually to be found in the company of a tamed lion and tiger, and the terror of the Europeans at such a strange sight used to afford him great amusement. Sometimes he would set the animals against each other, which once cost one of his Mamelukes, whose duty it was to separate them, his life.

The Viceroy tried to render this savage nature as harmless as possible, but the work of civilisation, which had only just been commenced by Mehemet Ali, had made too little progress as yet; the Defterdar was too powerful and influential, and the Viceroy owed him too much, to proceed with severity against him.

Acts like these would no longer be tolerated, and for a long time there was even a rumour afloat that the Defterdar had, on account of his intolerable cruelties, been secretly executed by order of Mehemet Ali.

Remarkable historical reminiscences are also attached to two palaces, one of which had been inhabited by Khosrof Pasha, the mortal enemy of Mehemet Ali; and the other, now used as a Lazaretto, by the Pasha himself, when he was still far distant from his present power. There it was that Mehemet Ali, who then only filled the post of Commander General of the army, weary of his restless career, around which dangers were constantly arraying themselves like threatening storms, or perhaps merely feigning this weariness with cunning dissimulation, declared to his faithful followers, that he had come to the resolution of peaceably surrendering the domination of Egypt to

Khosrof Pasha, and of retiring into private life, far removed from all political excitement.

For many days, his friends, especially the Albanians and Arnauts, tried to persuade him to give up this project, being doubly incensed against Khosrof Pasha, on account of his stupidly retaining their pay, and of his spreading a false report amongst them—that Mehemet Ali had already received and intended keeping it for himself, which was, however, easily disproved by the latter sending for the Defterdar, (pay-master) who stated to the troops the real nature of the case. After having allowed himself to be pressed for a long time to take more energetic measures, he at last jumped up, and drawing his sabre, called out: “ Well, I will comply with your wishes, but swear to me, on this occasion, that you promise to do blindly what I shall command, and that not a man of you will desert me whilst he lives, happen what may.

All took the oath with enthusiasm, and on the same night Mehemet Ali had the temerity, with a few hundred men, to attack Khosrof Pasha in his own palace, who, panic struck, escaped through his garden, and fled to Dami-etta, to Churshid Pasha, to claim his succour.

In this attack, Mehemet Ali exposed himself personally to the greatest danger; two balls perforated his dress, and several of the enemy fell by his own hand.

As I received the above, as well as the following facts, from the Viceroy's own lips, in the presence of several witnesses, this circumstance will, perhaps, invest them with a greater interest in the eyes of the public, although I can here, as it were, only give the skeleton of what, in Mehemet Ali's lengthened and, by many details, enriched narrative, possessed such an extraordinary attraction.

A certain Tahir Pasha, who commanded in the city and on the citadel, joined the victorious party, but was on that account murdered two days afterwards, in a riot, by his troops, who were differently disposed, which intelligence created such a consternation among Mehemet Ali's party, that many left him; and even his most faithful adherent and countryman, Soliman Aga, declared to him, that he saw no hope before him, and therefore advised him to fly with him to Albania.

"I shall not stir hence," said Mehemet Ali, "but I will not detain you. Fly, but reflect, that, once arrived in our common country,

it will not perhaps be thought to your credit, that you have deserted your friend and countryman in the hour of danger."

Soliman Aga abashed, kissed his commander's hand, and remained with him. .

Mehemet Ali now assembled the troops that continued faithful to him.

"Whoever of you," he exclaimed, "wavers in his confidence in me, let him instantly leave me. You are however grossly mistaken, if you allow yourselves to be discouraged by Tahir Pasha's death. He is of little consequence: he had only the name, but I am your real leader, and as long as I am with you, you need fear nothing."

When this manly address had a little restored the courage of the timorous, he divided them into two bodies, one under his own, the other under Soliman Aga's command; he then gave to the latter half of the little ammunition left him, and marched against the rebels.

Partly beating them, partly winning them over by persuasive means, he became, after a hard struggle, master of both the city and the citadel.

Scarcely however had this storm passed happily away, when an envoy made his ap-

pearance from Churshid Pasha, of Damietta, to summon Mehemet Ali thither, to give an account of his conduct.

The latter replied, that he would appear immediately before the Pasha, and bring with him all his confederates.

The envoy ventured only to report the first part of the reply; when however the Pasha, surprised at such prompt obedience, insisted upon knowing this whole truth, and then heard of this unwelcome addition, he was seized with such fear, the more so, as the Mamelukes, who were still on friendly terms with Mehemet Ali, had just gained a decisive victory over the Turks—that he immediately sent the envoy back with presents, to assure Mehemet Ali that he had completely misunderstood him, that thenceforth he would regard him as his son, that he might always rely upon his protection and sincere friendship, and that he, the Pasha, would soon proceed to Cairo, in order to arrange matters with Mehemet Ali according to his wishes.

The cunning party chief received the Pasha with the highest honours, had him even proclaimed governor of the Porte in the room of Khosrof Pasha, and ceded him the town and

citadel, remaining quietly in his palace of Eskebieh, without however dismissing a single man of his troops.

Churshid Pasha, whose grand object it was to get his dangerous protector out of the way, promised to use all his influence for him at Constantinople, and left him almost the choice of any Pashalik in the empire, that might suit him; but all these promises met only with a deaf ear from Mehemet Ali.

Soon after this, the relations between them began to get troubled, and ended, in a short time, with the forcible expulsion of Churshid Pasha.

Pursued by Mehemet Ali, he was at length obliged to leave him alone in the field, and to embark with Khosrof Pasha for Constantinople.

The Porte, as usual, putting a good face on bad matters, now found it advisable to concede definitively to Mehemet Ali, by its official firman, what, *de facto*, was already in his power, and named him Viceroy of Egypt. From that moment he had no more rivals, except the Mameluke Beys, who afterwards, as we know, had also to succumb to him in a still more tragical manner.

The long continued efforts made at Constantinople, by the mighty Khosrof Pasha, to effect his downfall, only served to render him still more powerful, and at last the Viceroy witnessed the disgrace and banishment from court of his old enemy, which certainly was soon followed by his own humiliation. Nevertheless, he has always kept up his spirits, deeming himself one of the men in history, who are under Allah's especial protection. He has often expressed himself to this effect with proud confidence.

For many hours I wandered about in the streets of this endless city, and cannot better describe my feelings on the occasion than by saying, that it appeared to me all the time, as if I were perusing the "Arabian Nights," or rather as if their varied scenes now passed before me in animated review.

No traveller has, in my opinion, given a more correct picture of Cairo, in a few pages, than M. Von Prokesch; I can warrant its fidelity, and to which I can add but little.

Cairo is not at all to be compared to any of the other oriental cities that I have as yet seen; its character is peculiar to itself. It is

surpassingly grand, and to those, who have the least romantic turn, truly fascinating and delicious, notwithstanding all its defects, irregularities, and many inconveniences. There is much in it too that reminds one of our own middle ages ; as for instance, the number of half-fortified castles, of heavy and varied architecture, which give it quite a feudal appearance ; the handsome artificial fountains, the narrow, irregular streets, with high, overbuilt houses, filled with latticed and barred windows, as in the ancient towns of Europe. But the most striking feature of all is, its numerous, splendid mosques, built in the old Arabian style, with their high turrets, pointed and round windows, their huge masses, and the wonderful richness of their innumerable decorations *à jour*, resembling closely our own Gothic churches, which represent at once both *Orient* and *Occident*, and the victories of the crescent, as well as those of the cross.

Since I have seen this style of architecture, I have been more and more confirmed in my original belief, that, like many other things in Europe, the so called Gothic takes its origin in the Mauro-Arabic, or at least that both spring from a common

source, although their structural development has been different, in different parts of the globe.

Strangely enough, my first impressions in these fancy stirring scenes were of a nature, that only brought to my mind images of chivalrous valour, of a rude but genuine piety, a fantastical but genial tendency of art, an age of violence, but more thoroughly impregnated with good as well as evil than our own.

The *purely oriental* additions to these European recollections were, however, soon furnished by a hundred other objects; and such for instance, as the shady bazaars, arched over with various coloured roofs of wood or linen, attached at a height of fifty feet from the ground to the spires of a mosque, or the turrets of a palace, and filled with the most precious products of Asia and Africa, and impregnated with the perfume of all the spices of Arabia, together with the *grandezza*, and imperturbability of the Moslems in the midst of a crowd, to which there is no parallel, even in our most populous cities. And how richly varied are those scenes! Here a crowd of horsemen, with their gold-embroidered horse-furniture, and rich and picturesque dresses, galloping recklessly along between shops and tradesmen

working in the streets ; there a harem proceeding to the bath, closely shrouded ladies with white linen masks, from under which their black eyes are seen sparkling, and who phantom-like glide noiselessly past on quick-footed donkeys ; then again, long trains of camels, which threaten from time to time to block up every part of the road, so that to work one's way even on foot through the narrow street cannot always be accomplished without squeezing, in fine, a never ending — ever-changing torrent of human beings of all costumes and all countries of the globe, from the veiled to the completely naked, from the woolly negro of Africa, the fire-worshipping Persian and the modest American, whom the ocean divides from both these, down to the London dandy, whose species, if I am to take as a proof, a specimen I met to-day, with red hair and whiskers, seemed of all those who throng here to come nearest to that of the monkey.

It looked like a magical illusion, suddenly to behold a European carriage with six horses, driven, from the box, by a Greek coachman, winding itself rapidly along like a boa-constrictor, through these narrow streets

and undulating crowds, and after the multitude, as if by a charm, has made way for it, disappearing again round the corner of the next street. It contained the Viceroy's daughter, who was on her way to the citadel.

The above mentioned castles of the old Mameluke chieftains, in the very heart of the city, with whose streets they however only communicate by a *porte cochère*, which is nearly always closed, have in general gardens and court-yards inside, and conceal from view a great deal of their ancient and well-preserved magnificence.

I know a foreigner who has hired one of these palaces in the best possible state of repair, for the term of five and twenty years, and pays no more than thirty piastres (nine francs) a month.

On the other hand, a stranger is greatly overcharged in the few wretched inns established here by Europeans. Generally speaking, the traveller ought everywhere in the east to be on his guard against European and Greek Christians, less against Jews, and least of all against the Mussulmen themselves, who indisputably form the most honest and respectable part of the population.

After having visited the stables of the Viceroy, which proved as indifferent as I had found those of the wealthy Governor of Candia, and in which the horses are no better attended to, although each horse has its own groom (*sais*), I rode to the castle, commonly called the citadel, which stands at the extremity of the town, against the rocks of Mokkatam.

The greater part of this fortress consists of the palace of the Viceroy, who has fortified it strongly against Cairo, the only side on which it can be made of use, and has planted the walls with an imposing battery of cannon.

At the extreme southern end, opposite the mosque of Saladin, which is fast crumbling into ruins, the Viceroy is now building a new mosque, which in some respects will be one of the most costly edifices in the world, as not only all its pillars are to be constructed of massive polished Oriental alabaster, but the exterior and interior of the walls are to be entirely covered with that kind of stone, which has hitherto only been used for vases, clock-cases, and similar small articles; and the quarry of this material, near Schech Abade, is

likely to be entirely consumed in the construction of this temple. The effect is admirable, but it is feared that this delicate stone will not be able to resist the influence of the weather. It would therefore be better to replace it on the outside by granite, but for a proper execution of the plan ancient Egyptian architects would be required ; the modern ones are unfit for it.

I ascended the still unfinished walls of the mosque, in order to behold, from the most favourable point, the celebrated view, which it commands of Cairo, its hundreds of spires and domes, its innumerable mosques and palaces, and the distant pyramids of Dshiseh, Dashur, and Sakhara. In the midst of this grand panorama, the Nile flows along majestically, bordered by the richest verdure, which fades away in the distance towards the north, in the triangle of the Delta, whilst on the two sides, nearer to you, the yellow sands of the still more immense desert, present a sudden and striking contrast to the green plains.

Close beneath you, the *chef d'œuvre* of edifices in Cairo, the mosque of Sultan Hassan, which is scarcely surpassed by any

Gothic temple in Europe, forms a most splendid foreground ; next to it is the square Rumeli, (the place for public executions), which is always filled by a motley crowd, the undulating movements of which you can distinctly follow.

To the left of this sea of houses, you perceive at the south, the aqueduct of Saladin, which proceeds from the Nile, between Old and New Cairo, and conducts its water to the fountain of Joseph ; and, on the right, at the opposite side, your eye, almost tired by the rich variety of the scene, rests, at last, on the tombs of the caliphs ; which form almost a town by themselves.

At a subsequent period, I ascended the highest point of the Mokkatam, whence one certainly overlooks a greater extent of ground ; but, from this point of view, the citadel hides a great deal of the interesting, moving panorama of the city ; and the scene loses its greatest and most original charm.

The moment to enjoy it, in all its beauty, is shortly after sunrise, when the sun's rays crown the pyramids with a golden aureole ; and, notwithstanding their real distance, those

colossal piles seem to approach so closely, that, with an opera glass, you can distinctly see the sphinx, which stands before them.

The Mosque of Saladin, was, also, a splendid building of heavy structure, surmounted by a dome, which has now fallen in; (for the Turks do not repair anything) and ornamented by a high minaret, constructed of glazed bricks of various colours; many of which are still preserved.

The interior, with its decayed paintings and ornaments, is now used as a filthy warehouse. Before the mosque, and looking towards the city, stands Saladin's palace. To judge from its ruins, it must have been a noble structure; and old Egyptian granite pillars were employed in it, most of which have been thrown down, and lie broken and scattered about in the dust.

On one side of the detached antique pedestals, I remarked hieroglyphics of the most ancient kind; which proves, that, when the later Pharaohs erected those pillars at Memphis, they used, for them, stones belonging to still older buildings, which had been pulled down.

Immediately behind the mosque, at the foot of the Mokkatam, stands the so-called fountain of Joseph; the origin of which is unknown. The Arabs assert, that it was constructed by Saladin, who, also, bore the name of Jussuff. Next to it, and close before the old mosque, Mehemet Ali has erected, on one of the turrets of the palace, a telegraph; which, placed on this spot, seemed to me, to look from ancient, into modern times. It would have appeared to me like the spectre of the past, had it begun to work at that moment.

The fountain, which is forty-two feet in circumference, and two hundred and eighty feet deep, is a most wonderful work; and, is rendered the more remarkable, by a gallery surrounding it on all sides, which is, also, cut out of the rock, and which conducts the visiter comfortably to the bottom; its walls between the rock, and the foundation, being scarcely an inch and a half thick.

On leaving the citadel, to descend to the square of Rumelia, you pass the famous street in the rock, in which the Mameluke Beys met

with their certainly deserved, but, nevertheless, terrific end.

One can here, form a vivid idea of that event. Let the reader picture to himself, a long winding passage, lined on both sides by rocks, with high walls, and houses built on the top of them, leading down from the hill, in a steep descent, with a slippery stone pavement.

The gates, before and behind the Beys, are closed, and, in the picture, you form to yourself, you can see them, (above a hundred in number) crowded close, on their wild and spirited horses, riding along in high spirits, and without any apprehension of the awful doom awaiting them; whilst all the eminences of the rocks, and the terraces, and balconies of the upper houses are filled with soldiers, as if arrayed in compliment to them, and armed to give the festive salute.

Each of those proud Beys, is, just now, reflecting on the consequences of his meditated treachery, and indulging in pleasing anticipations of the inevitable downfall of their dreaded enemy; but, not a man of them, as if struck with blindness, entertains the least fear for his own safety; suddenly, all the muskets of the soldiers are

turned upon the glittering throng, and a shower of balls rattles down upon them ; the first report of which, must have, already, filled the Beys with the despair of utter hopelessness ; for, neither escape, nor defiance, nor revenge, are possible !

The confusion among the attacked, the rushing of the wounded horses, the clamour, and execrations of the wounded, the slaughter continued for more than a quarter of an hour, from a safe distance ; the awful sight, of so many princes, potent masters of the land, before whose frown, all would have yesterday trembled, now weltering in the dust in their blood —trodden under the hoofs of their own horses ; and, as they breathed their last, amidst the derisive shouts of the Albanian soldiery, still grasping in death, their faithful weapons, with powerless hands, a bitter mockery ; this must, indeed, have been a scene of terrible effect.

Close to the theatre of this bold, and tragic deed, the Viceroy has, since, established his armoury, cannon foundry, and small arms' factory ; which are, now, partly worked by engines, that have been made in Cairo.

These establishments produce, on an average, from two to three cannons a week, and twenty thousand guns a year; which are all of very good quality, with this exception, that I found the latter rather heavy, and stiff in the trigger.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GARDEN OF SCHUBRA. AN ALMEH.
THE SUPPER.

It will scarcely be credited in Europe, when I state, that the necessary round of visits, and other social duties, took up half my time in Cairo ; which is as much as they would have required in any European metropolis.

The gentlemen assigned for my escort by the Viceroy, obliged me even to give frequent dinner parties ; which, when Baki Bey himself, was present, reminded me of the time of the French invasion of Germany, when many a Prussian country gentleman had, daily, the honour of being in his own house, and, at his own expense, the guest of the foreign marshal or general, who played the host at his table.

To these social meetings I, however, owe more than one interesting acquaintance. Among these I may class the Austrian Consul General, Mr. Laurin, a celebrated connoisseur in the arts and a very delightful companion ; and the Austrian Vice Consul, Mr. Champion, both of whom loaded me with favors, and deserve my most grateful acknowledgments ; the Russian Consul General, Major Duhamel, a clever diplomatist, who seems to be acquainted with nearly all the living languages, and is well versed in every branch of science ; the Prussian Consul, Mr. Bokti, a living encyclopedia of all the incidents of modern Egyptian history, from the time of the arrival of the French up to the present day ; Captain Cavillia, who is acquainted with every discovery made in Egypt, in the department of antiquities ; Mr. Lambert, the St. Simonian, who is deeply imbued with the doctrines of the “ father.” who had, unfortunately already departed ; and lastly, my excellent friend Schubert, whom I had the happiness of meeting in this distant land — that, I might almost say, *imposingly* modest man, before whose mild, evangelical spirit one bows with loving respect ; and many others, with whom I afterwards became more inti-

mately connected, and who will be mentioned in proper season. Of the bores I do not think it would be fair to speak, although I regret to say I met some at Cairo, as ponderous as are to be found at home.

In requesting my readers to accompany me to the gardens of Schubra, I must again, on account of the severity of the criticisms by which I have been assailed, remind them that I am by no means a book writer by profession, and that therefore a systematic arrangement of my subject is not to be expected from me. I tell, what I feel inclined to tell, just as it comes into my head. Whoever disapproves of my plan may look out for better amusement, and it will not be difficult for him to find it.

Schubra, a pleasure palace of the Viceroy, where he generally resides, did not surprise me less than Mehemet Ali's other creations, for hitherto I had never seen an Oriental garden, which was other than a plantation of vegetables and fruit trees, to the total neglect of elegance and cleanliness. Here, however, I found a garden laid out in such a manner, that George the Fourth would have been delighted to have had it at Virginia Water, and his English gardens could not have been kept

with more neatness or elegance. This exemplary order and care makes a doubly agreeable impression in the East, the region of filth and dilapidation, and it is a most delightful sensation for an inhabitant of the North to find himself at the end of January in the open air in the midst of parterres of flowers and blossoms, extending over a space of from twelve to fifteen acres of ground. And what a splendid road too, (the work, also, of Mehemet Ali,) leads from Cairo to these gardens.

At first you ride for half an hour through the garden of Ibrahim, which I have already described; then you come to large fields, the bright green of which is not to be surpassed by our richest meadows; through these fields runs a closely planted avenue of trees, which takes you an hour to traverse. Consisting of evergreen sycamores and other trees of a dark leaf, which only lose their foliage for a few weeks in the hottest season of the year, this avenue with its ramifications, forms a continued archway of from thirty to forty feet in height, impenetrable to the sun and only sufficiently open between the trunks of the trees to admit a view of a constantly varying and charming landscape—for to the left, at a

short distance, flows the Nile, sometimes interspersed by small islands; sometimes its broad mirror of more than a mile and a half in width glittering in the sun. Its nearer shores are studded by the villas of the great, or by the more palace-like factory buildings, standing between gardens and fields, whilst the opposite shores display, in front of the softly undulating hills of the desert, a variety of palm tree forests, or villages smiling in the midst of the rich vegetation by which they are surrounded.

All looks idyllic, save the eternal Pyramids, whose summits, elevated above the other objects in the back ground, peep mysteriously out from among the palm trees. To the right, the barren sand-hills of the opposite side of the desert, collected by the wind, and frequently changing their shape, range into the distance, but with the broad plantations of olives and other fruit trees, which lie in front of them, and in which many small and cheerful looking habitations are sprinkled, the desert also on that side shews itself in its romantic and not at all in its melancholy aspect. Besides which the landscape presents, during the whole of the day, animated and characteristic features, which

satisfy to the full one's love of novelty ; for here, as in the town, you are always surrounded by motley groups of men and cattle representing every peculiarity of the country. Often whilst I revelled in this uninterrupted succession of exotic images, and then raised my eyes to the lofty roof of dense foliage above me, which seemed rather to appertain to the North than to the South, it seemed to me as if I was still in Europe, and saw from some avenue in the Vienna Prater, or the Berlin Thiergarten a painted Diorama of Egypt before me.

Thus you reach almost imperceptibly Schu-bra, where descending from your horse near to a fountain of white stone, you enter a pavilion of trellis work thickly tapestried all round with clustering blossoms, of a beautiful violet color ; through a broad and shady walk, bordered by the same foliage, you arrive at a painted *Kiosk*, before which flower-beds spread themselves in pleasing forms. Myrtles, jessamines and other aromatic plants border the diversified groups of tulips, roses and geraniums, of which these beds are composed ; and at each side of, and above the path, young orange trees, arranged and cut so as to form the most

graceful arcades and festoons, wave their blossoms and fruit around you ; whilst the walks, laid out carefully with small, coloured stones, present a mosaic of tasteful arabesques. Other plantations, equally diversified in character, and decorated with waterworks, ornamental seats, pyramids of flowers, vases and pavilions, succeed this first garden, divided only here and there by dark clusters of cypresses and of taller forest trees.

In one orange garden full of red fruit and white blossoms, the whole ground was covered like a carpet with the narcissus and *tacette*, the odour of which was almost overpowering.

After this, you come to a lake with splendid marble baths, which are filled by water issuing from crocodiles' mouths. Further on commences a dark wilderness enclosed by a neat bamboo fence, in which a number of the rarest animals are kept, and where they have sufficient space to roam about.

Among them I observed a remarkable antelope from Darfur, which to the smallest size of its species, united the perfect shape of the *Bison ox*, with a respectable hump. As I have been informed by a person well versed

in natural history, it is an Addac of the *Strepsiceros* of Pliny.

The beautiful Antelope, which appears so frequently on Egyptian monuments, called by the Arabs, Abou Harb "father of the white," (the Oryx of the ancients) is also to be seen here. We were shewn in a separate enclosure, as a great curiosity from England, a common northern bear, an animal of as great interest here as the Giraffe with us.

The head gardener, a Greek, from Chios, invited me to rest, after my long perambulation, in one of the Kisks, an offer which I thankfully accepted. I found the Turkish garden-house fitted up quite in the European style, and with a good deal of elegance; it was provided, amongst other things, with a London arm-chair, that poetical piece of furniture, the inventor of which deserves a place in Westminster Abbey. Scarcely had I stretched myself in it, in voluptuous comfort, when we were interrupted by the appearance of some blacks, carrying baskets of various coloured palm-tree leaves, from the Senaar, filled with the most delicious fruit, of which schubra furnishes so much, during both summer and winter, as to supply the whole of Mehemet

Ali's court and harem, and even when the Viceroy is travelling about, supplies of fresh fruit, from these gardens, are daily sent after him. Mehemet Ali is very fond of fruit, and, like Frederick the Great, more especially of cherries, which, however, do not thrive here, and must, therefore, be got from Candia. The costly steamer, the Nile, has scarcely any other occupation than to convey from thence fruits and ice, in large quantities, for the Pasha.

The fruit for which, in my opinion, Schubra is most remarkable, is a peculiar kind of orange, the interior of which is of the most beautiful carmine colour, and which surpasses the red oranges of Malta, and Portugal, although they probably take their origin from them, as much from the beauty of their colour, which appears even through the peel, as from their aromatic flavour and taste.

A remarkable contrast to these princely gardens, is offered by the palace, which in Europe would scarcely satisfy the pretensions of rich landowners. It bears evidence to the simple tastes of the Prince, who inhabits it during the greater part of the year.

Having sufficient time left, I continued my

walk for another hour, in order to inspect the Mews, which resemble a small town, and which the Viceroy, with his usual grandiose notions, has built in the centre of an immense common, under the superintendence of the clever veterinary surgeon, M. Hammont.

This subject, however, is so fruitful, that I must leave it for another chapter. I will here limit myself to an observation which struck me forcibly in connection with this subject. It seemed to me a remarkable circumstance that although the Viceroy in former times (for now he begins, to his own injury, to allow himself to be cajoled into a very different system by the half-civilized Turks, who surround him) had willingly lent his ear to foreigners of all nations, and encouraged them in every way to serve him ; that, nevertheless, with very few exceptions, (of whom I shall make mention hereafter) it is only Frenchmen that have rendered Egypt important services. In this respect one might say with truth, that Mehemet Ali, putting his own extraordinary genius out of the question, owes the existence of his navy entirely to two Frenchmen, Cerisy and Besson, and the organisation of his army to Soliman Pasha,

(Sève) without whom the result of the war with the Porte might have been very doubtful. All the sanitary institutions of his realm were founded by a physician from Marseilles, Clot, now Clot Bey, (with the rank of General) who, besides, has exercised an important influence over all the institutions connected with education, and the civilization of Egypt generally.

The only fault of this talented and well meaning man is, that he is too impetuous, and is too easily induced to take part for or against others; and by this impetuosity of character, as well as by a too restless and reckless activity, he sometimes undermines his own powers.

Major Warin, one of the most estimable characters in Egypt, has gained deserved credit in the training of the cavalry, which is now almost exclusively commanded by native officers of his own schooling. From my description of Candia it has been seen how much Mehemet Ali is indebted to the beneficial exertions of another eminent Frenchman, Mr. Caporal, and that the fact of Candia's being governed in such an excellent manner, and certainly better than any other province of the Egyptian dominions, is principally to be attri-

buted to the influence of that distinguished man, as well as to the sound, good sense of Mustapha Pasha, who has always followed his judicious advice.

M. Linnant is also to be numbered among the distinguished Frenchmen of the first class in the Pasha's service, (for, in lower grades, there are many others, who are useful to him.) He has, already, effected much, as regards the canals of this country. But, if he should succeed in accomplishing his gigantic project, which has occupied him for years, and for which, he has himself, made out all the plans, drawings, and estimates, viz., the damming of the Nile, at the entrance of the Delta—an enterprise, the advantages of which, are incalculable to the prosperity, and opulence of Egypt; his name would, at once appear, as the first on the list, of the foreign benefactors of the country.

The revival of horse training in Egypt, as well as many of the most useful arrangements for the cultivation of the various other breeds of cattle, and the organization of the veterinary service for that purpose, as far as the remotest province of the Sennaar, are, equally, the work of a Frenchman—the before mentioned M.

Hammont—who, nevertheless, in the midst of his beneficial career, was very near falling the victim of the intrigues of one of the most incapable of Mehemet Ali's favorites, Muktar Bey—one of those Turks educated in Europe, who have learnt there nothing, except to add our vices to their own; and who, raised like mushrooms, in the sun of Mehemet Ali's favour, prompted by stupidity, and inflated by arrogance, constantly try to persuade the Viceroy, that he has no further need of foreigners; as they, (the Egyptians,) at present know all that might have been formerly learnt from them.

It is not to be wondered at, that Mehemet Ali, misled, perhaps, by the consciousness of his own powers, and all that he has *really done unaided*, should, occasionally, incline to such views; for, with all his great qualities, he still remains the Turk; and has, besides, been so often, and so impudently deceived, so frequently treated with the greatest ingratitude by Europeans, both high and low, that he cannot possibly like them; but, for his own interest, he has taken into consideration—(as he has himself said,) that all the injury which he has sustained by a hundred adven-

turers, has been counter-balanced a thousand times over, by one man of merit, such as those I have quoted; and, above all, that the services of such men as the latter, are still as necessary to him for the preservation, as they formerly were, for the foundation of his institutions.

A cursory glance at the situations of the parties in question, will show, that this truth is not thoroughly appreciated by the Viceroy. Cerisy left Egypt in deep disgust, at the endless intrigues which were set on foot against him. Besson died at Alexandria, insolvent, without the slightest honour being paid to his memory; and his widow has, as yet, been unable to obtain a pension. Seve is a Pasha. He is, however, only employed in cases of need—as latterly, in Syria—and, being an object of Ibrahim Pasha's jealousy, he has, except in such cases, but little influence. Nevertheless, it would be of the greatest importance to Mehemet Ali's interests in Syria, just now, to give, to a man like Soliman Pasha, power to act with unlimited confidence. Whoever is acquainted with the position of affairs, and particularly with the history of the late insurrection, which threat-

ened to become more imminent to Mehemet Ali, than the war with the Porte, knows that if Soliman Pasha had power to rule in Syria, that insurrection would never have taken place; and, many other lamentable abuses, which are still existing in full vigor there, would have as quickly disappeared. Clot Bey finds himself almost in a similar situation. Envied, and assailed by numerous individuals, he must neither turn right nor left, nor lose any opportunity of doing the most arduous medical service, notwithstanding his own tottering health.

Nevertheless, excepting an occasional familiarity on the part of the Viceroy or Ibrahim Pasha, and a good salary, for which Clot Bey cares least of all, his influence beyond the strictly medical circle is very small indeed. I have already mentioned that M. Hammont was on the point of taking his leave, in order not to be exposed to Muktar Bey's brutality. Major Warin, whose cavalry school is placed under the same absurd ministry of Muktar Bey, (*in which there is not a single military man*) sees his most important institutions continually interfered with by a set of the most ignorant

ellows., although he enjoys in the highest degree the Viceroy's personal favor.*

M. Linant is not more fortunate, for after all the necessary preparations for his great work had been made at a very considerable expense, he has remained paralyzed for years by the stoppage of supplies and by continual embarrassments, uncertain whether the whole undertaking has not already been abandoned, and that he is merely put off with trivial excuses.

Even M. Caporal, whom greater distance and the firm protection of Mustapha Pasha

* The above mentioned department, under the title of the Ministry of Public Instruction, has absorbed in itself nearly all the other branches of administration, so that Muktar Bey, who is at the head of it, has at once the direction of all the civil and military schools, public buildings and constructions, roads, canals, studs, agricultural establishments, medical and veterinary institutions, manufactories, arts and trades, and the arrangement of new museums, the cultivation of sheep and the transport of camels and oxen from the Sennaar. It would be lucky for the Viceroy, if Muktar Bey's only employment was in this last branch.—*Note by the Author.*

saved from the same counteracting influences, has, notwithstanding his eminent merits, been unable as yet to attain the rank of a Bey, which is daily thrown away on the most insignificant Turkish subjects.

All this proves clearly, that Mehemet Ali does not sufficiently value the distinguished foreigners in his service, and that he does not turn them to as much advantage as he might ; whilst his Turkish counsellors destroy a great number of his clever plans, partly on purpose, partly from incapacity. As a true friend and admirer of Mehemet Ali, and invited by him to state my opinions frankly, I have not even concealed this from him, and had some proof, that it did not fall upon him without, at least, a temporary effect ; but the greatest difficulty of this, in many respects, extraordinary man was, that he could not, like Peter the Great, whom he resembled in many points, seek his early knowledge in civilized countries, and does not himself understand any foreign language. Thus, in the unavoidable and continuous conflict in which he is engaged with Europe, he is too much dependent upon the counsellors of his own nation, as well as on his interpreters, and must act more or less ac-

according to their notions, for even the keenest eye can only see imperfectly through a darkened glass.

I only know two of his oriental grandees, who can be said to be perfectly worthy of Mehemet Ali, and those are his ministers of commerce, Boghos Bey, and the present Minister of War, Menieli Pasha.

To those, who certainly will at some future time play a distinguished part in Egypt, and deserve to do so, belongs also Artim Bey, the Viceroy's Dragoman, who is more perfectly Europeanized than any other of the natives of Egypt. All these men have however nothing to say to the administration of home affairs, and in Syria, where matters are most ticklish, no one has any influence except Ibrahim Pasha and his minions. What these latter are made of, will be shewn on a future occasion.

In M. Hammont's house I found a numerous assemblage of visitors, and here I saw, for the first time, an Almeh, who at this period was the most celebrated in the metropolis, and notorious for the power of her charms, which had even induced an Englishman to offer her his hand, which honor she declined, namely the beautiful Saffia, unfortunately rather too long

celebrated but still deserving her reputation. She has become too rich and too much the great lady, to be included in the general proscription of her companions; but, like the titled gamblers of Europe, she is still obliged to be on her guard against the police. Slight and tall in stature, fair like an Englishwoman, of noble demeanour, and soft and fascinating manners, she might be taken as a very fair representation of her class. Her dancing was exactly of the same kind I had seen at Algiers and Tunis, with the exception of a war dance, which she executed, assisted by her slave, a girl even prettier than herself, and in which she handled the sabre in a manner worthy of a Mameluke, of whose costume I was also reminded, by her wide red pantaloons, and light, green vest embroidered with gold.

Her luxuriant black hair, made up, also, with a great deal of false hair, hung down to her hips in innumerable tresses, and I do not exaggerate, when I say that more than a thousand of different sized current gold coins were interwoven in it, which, however, are of very light weight here. After she had danced for a quarter of an hour, she took some coffee, and smoked with us with the dignified

air of a Pasha ; but after she had partaken of a few glasses of liqueur, of which these girls are in general rather too fond, her assumed quietness soon changed into a Bacchanalian ecstasy, which appeared to me more original than attractive. However, several gentlemen of the company, at the time I quitted them, seemed to be of a very different opinion.

After this charming Houri of the Cairo Paradise, I saw the same evening, on my return through the avenue of Schubra, the Egyptian sky in all its splendour, and this was a nobler spectacle than the one I had just left. It is almost impossible to describe a scene such as was presented by the sunset of that day, without being accused of exaggeration ; and, nevertheless, I discovered new features that I had never before seen, and that I never had the least conception of, in the ethereal delicacy of that spectacle. In our sunset, the clouds only play on the sky in varied and burning colours—here, there were no clouds, but the *whole* sky, and also the whole earth seemed enveloped in softly glowing tints of indescribable loveliness. From the bright, golden hues on the distant horizon, there seemed to issue over the clear atmos-

phere, a wonderfully transparent sea green, and light pink streaks branched off from it, subsequently changing into blue and silver, and finally dissolving in the east, in light blue vapour. Thus shone, in majestic softness and splendour, the wide arch of heaven, whilst the green that covered the earth, assuming an unusual vividness, and encircled as if by an aureole, presented to the eye the gorgeous colours and varied character of a piece of rich silk tapestry. The avenue, with its vaulted roof of dense foliage, became smaller and smaller in perspective, and suddenly glowed with flame, as if a thousand lamps were concealed in its trees, until, by and bye, the upper part of the apparently endless vault became partially wrapped in obscurity, and everything appeared through it of a pale and undecided hue, as in a struggle between light and darkness. Suddenly, on the spot where the sun had just sank, a dark red made its appearance; the fiery green of the tree tops disappeared in an instant, a strong perfume, as if of violets and roses, filled the air, and before I could analyse what I had seen, the oriental night, with the rapidity peculiar to this climate, had already cast its darkest veil

over the earth, and this glorious scene had vanished, as it were, to the uncertain land of dreams. The mood into which I was thrown by it, was perfectly in unison with the company that awaited me at home, where I had invited that day, to dinner, besides my usual companions, Councillor Lubbert, Dr. Koch, also Messrs. Lambert and Cavillia. Both the last named gentlemen are not without that touch of romance to which I am prone, although very dissimilar in the practical illustration of this tendency of their minds. The first is a St. Simonian in heart and soul ; but with all his enthusiasm for his romantic doctrines, of so acute and clear a mind that he has been jocularly styled here the Jesuit of the St. Simonians. Nobody can be said to understand better *de prêcher pour sa paroisse*, and he not only knows how to make the most of his truths, but to protect his weak points by the adroit use of a dangerous weapon, bitter irony, which brings the laughers over to his side.

But he is very far from following in the footsteps of certain Christian missionaries, in forcing on people, *béngré malgré*, and without awaiting the proper opportunity, his own doctrines, and as he is full of good sense and knowledge, and

is rich in worldly experience, his conversation, apart from the St. Simonian theories, is always attractive.

M. Cavillia is a freethinker, and convinced of the truth of many things, which in Europe would pass for fictions, as, for instance, the existence of white and black charms, as well as of the mysteries of the school of Egyptian priests, preserved by the chosen, and still remaining in force, which, according to him, have for their foundation, a much greater degree of animal magnetism, than we have hitherto had any idea of ; he is, also, a believer in the proximity of supernatural beings, and on my expressing a wish to behold, with my own eyes, one of those exhibitions, mentioned by English and French travellers, where, by means of an unknown charm, an innocent child can read, in the palm of its hand, and describe any person, respecting whom one may wish to have information, no matter at what distance off, or whether that person has been long dead ; he replied, that nothing was easier, and that Lord Prudhoe, as well as many others, who had been as incredulous as myself had convinced themselves by the evidence of their own eyes, of the literal

truth of the matter ; the only difficulty would be, he added coolly, whether, in case I wished to make the trial, I would agree beforehand to do formal homage to the evil spirit ? I laughed, and asked him whether he thought the before mentioned gentlemen had submitted to those terms ? “ There is no doubt about it,” was his reply, “ for without this condition, the thing can only be accomplished in the opposite way, that is to say, by a holy white charm.”

For that, however, a long and arduous life of preparation is required.

After M. Cavillia had made several other equally mysterious allusions, with which he in a strange manner mixed up Christianity, which he with much truth designated as the word, that sprung from eternity, and that had already, he said, enlightened the initiated among the Egyptian priests: he gave us to understand pretty significantly, that he himself belonged to the initiated of the first class, who dive into the origin of all things.

In the sequel of the conversation he affirmed, that the last French Revolution had been prognosticated to him by his familiar spirit six months before it took place, as several could

testify, to whom he had immediately communicated the fact. The manner of revelation was no less original, for the spirit appeared to him in the shape of a giant, sitting on a throne in the clouds over Alexandria, having on his left a tri-colored flag, and on the right a colossal portrait of Louis Philippe.

“There are some more important events in store for us,” continued M. Cavillia, “for the phantom has again recently appeared to me.” The nature of the revelation which he made on this occasion was not however communicated to us.

Captain Cavillia had lately been engaged in a fresh examination of the Pyramids, for which purpose he had entered into a deed of partnership with the English Consul General at Alexandria, Major Campbell, the English Vice Consul at the same place, and Major Howard Wyse, to the effect, as he expressed it, that the Englishmen should furnish the money, and he the head for the undertaking. A dispute between him and Major Wyse had, however, dissolved the coalition a few days before, and the Major had undertaken to pursue the operations by himself, and left out the head; of which proceeding M. Cavillia com-

plained bitterly, as an arbitrary, self-authorised violation of the formal contract.

When I however subsequently met Major Wyse, on my visit to the Pyramids, he in his turn advanced several plausible motives for the dissolution of the compact, so that a third party, without a full knowledge of the matter, could not venture to pass an opinion on it.

M. Cavillia was full of sanguine hopes of the possibility of great discoveries, of which he already, as he assured us, had the most infallible indications. He hoped to be able to lay bare to the world the unknown wonders of Egyptian architecture in the interior of the pyramids. Although he always spoke in half riddles, I could understand thus much, that, according to his opinion, the whole of the upper part of the great pyramid, over the discovered vaults, was hollow, and formed an immense vestibule. When this brought the conversation on the so called, chambers of the King and Queen, and I quoted the text from Herodotus, according to which the royal constructor of the pyramid, is said not to be buried in it, but in the rocks beneath, around which flows a subterraneous arm of the Nile, he quickly interrupted me: "No," he exclaimed, "there lies

the renowned crocodile, which contains in itself the quintessence of all that is past or to come." and now he began a very strange narrative, the tone of which he however knew how to manage so cleverly, that it all along remained uncertain whether he spoke allegorically or ironically, or in downright earnest; whether he only made game of us, or was in a waking delusion. For my own part I believe that there was something of both in it; I take M. Cavillia, like all other prophets, to be half inspired and half sensible, half believer and half deceiver. It is, however, impossible to be all this in a more amusing or modest manner than that original person, that is to say when he is well disposed for it, which is not often, for he is always occupied with mysterious studies, and generally appears anything but communicative.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PILGRIMS TO MECCA. THE TOMBS OF THE
CALIPHS.

NEXT morning I was awakened by the report of guns, announcing the departure of the Hadshis and the grand caravan, for Mecca.

My young friend, already known to the reader, the French Consul, Lesseps, a Parisian *elegant* in the desert, called for me, on his Tunisian steed, and we hastened past the prostrate monument of Desaix, and the magnificent gate of victory, (Bab-el-Nasr) in order to gain an open square, across which the procession was to move. Several regiments were encamped here, and used this open space for their manœuvres, but on this occasion we

found them lining both sides of the street together with the irregular troops of cavalry, in honor of the holy carpet, close to which we now stationed ourselves on a declivity.

The procession was already approaching. First came a detachment of cavalry, their officers dressed in their full uniforms of red and gold, then a single file of camels, decorated with coloured ribbons, on one of which was seated a very dirty saint, (*santon*), in a state of complete nudity. Next appeared a kind of richly embroidered green sedan, with a canopy, similarly ornamented, containing the carpet which the Sultan presents annually to the holy Keba.

Other camels, richly adorned, followed with troops of cavalry, succeeded by a long line of Hadshis.

The main body of the caravan, however, did not assemble until it had reached a station further on in the desert, where they remained a few days, until all were collected, and arranged in order.

A multitude of people surrounded the procession with loud exclamations, and some of them fired their pieces in token of their gratification, being at the time quite close to us.

Some years ago, Christians, in their European dresses, would have been exposed to great danger; on this occasion they scarcely seemed to notice us, and not even an inimical expression saluted our ears. On the contrary, they every where respectfully retreated, when my Kawass endeavoured to make room for us, and several naked Mahommedan wrestlers of athletic build, even requested the favour during the ceremony, that we infidels would allow them to give *ex passant* a representation of their performances, which I however considered very poor, as they were confined to mere show, no real prize-fight ever taking place amongst them.

After the silken shrine, containing the holy carpet, which was to remain here during the night, had been placed on the ground, and surrounded by dense files of cavalry, in order to repel every profane glance, we rode on for half an hour towards the imposing, but half dilapidated tombs of the caliphs, which furnish architects with endless models of ancient, Arabian architectural ornaments, as tasteful as they are original, and which again clearly prove that this style of architecture is most intimately connected with the Gothic, and

that they are often almost one and the same. Situated amidst the sands of the desert, and in monotonous contrast with the active bustle of the capital, these comparatively modern ruins, these numerous palaces of fallen grandeur, with their splendid remains of decayed art, made a much more melancholy impression upon me, than the more remote sepulchres of the ancient Egyptains.

The first dome we entered was the tomb of the hero Melek-el-Adhel, celebrated by the Arabian poets, and who has also furnished Chateaubriand with the theme of one of his most delightful poems.

The painted arabesques and ornamental hieroglyphics of this monument, are regarded as the most perfect of their kind at Kahira. The dome is bold, light, and of imposing effect; the colours and gilding are still fresh; but the whole structure having been purposely injured in several places, inevitable ruin threatens this beautiful mausoleum, unless it be speedily repaired, which, by the bye, cannot be expected of the Turks.

One of the most magnificent and elegant sepulchres, a portion of which must also have served as a palace, is that of a Caliph of the

first dynasty, and his consort, whose names have escaped me. It forms a quadrangle with two high towers, and two domes, enclosing a large court, in the centre of which stands a fountain. Under the two domes, which are elevated at the extremities of a wide saloon, lie the remains of the royal pair. Walls decorated with various coloured marbles, and admirably worked transparent lattices, both of wood and metal, adorned these chambers. The saloon is likewise of noble proportions, and its elegant stone pulpit would not disgrace our most splendid cathedrals.

Here every thing stood open, exposed to devastation, and crumbling to decay, with the bodies it conceals. In order to view the scenery we ascended one of the towers on the opposite side, which looked towards the town, notwithstanding that several steps, and even portions of the ballustrades were wanting to the staircase, part of which was attached to the outside of the building. Scarcely had we reached the first story, when our noses were saluted by a strong perfume of amber, and immediately afterwards a pretty girl, dressed in the gaudiest colours, stepped, like an apparition, from a low side-door, and curtsying

low, humbly requested us to bestow a *backshis* (a small present) upon her. We were at first not a little surprised at this unexpected encounter, but the enigma was soon solved. Two of the Hetarai, whom Mehemet Ali's severe law had recently banished from Kahira, had taken up their quarters in this place, in order that they might be enabled to continue unmolested in the secrecy of these deserted sepulchres ; an occupation so much at variance with the locality.

The poor girls, one of whom was of colour, the other white, excited our pity too much not to reap a plentiful harvest—and for once at least in perfect innocence.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SCHOOL OF KASSERLENG. THE ISLAND
OF RUDA.

ALTHOUGH it is usual to assure strangers, that it never rains at Kahira, we were nevertheless, on our return, overtaken by a severe thunder storm, followed by a shower, which lasted two hours, and literally resembled a water spout, soaking us to the skin.

This however did not deter me from again visiting the school of Kasserleng, (Kasr-el-Ain), the first I had ever seen of the kind, which was instituted by the Viceroy, and governed by excellent regulations, which must inspire every impartial judge, with

respect for its founder. Rows of splendid houses two stories high, and built in the European style, enclosed a garden, and a large square laid out in avenues, in the centre of which stands the mosque. These buildings contain sitting rooms, dormitories, dining halls, sick wards, and school rooms for 2000 scholars, besides the apartments of the masters and domestics, a large bath, kitchens, and store rooms, &c.

For each hall there are particular servants, who are respectably clad, and who also serve at the dinner table, and the strictest order and cleanliness seemed to prevail from the top to the bottom of the establishment. The scholars wear a uniform, which they receive new once a year. Each has a bed and iron bedstead, a locker for his effects, a mat, carpet, and a cushion to sit upon. The time is portioned out with military precision, and in order to carry out the system to its full extent, the young people are obliged to march in military order, to their studies as well as to the dinner table.

I was present at their meals, of which they have two a-day, and which I found to be better, and more substantial, than at any of

our German schools, (at least, of those with which I am acquainted), more especially such as are supported by government.

The scholars dined in two halls, and were seated on benches at round tables, ten at each table, and seemed to be exceedingly well-behaved, although perfect freedom of conversation is allowed, and they are not in the least disturbed by the presence of casual visitors, were it even the Viceroy himself, it being a very rational and humane custom among the Turks, that come who may, no one is obliged to rise during meals, nor to observe any other mark of respect.

The same rule is likewise observed with the domestics, and even animals, are interrupted in their meals only in cases of the utmost necessity.

The view from the lofty, open windows of these halls of Ibrahim's 'new plantations, the town which lies behind them, surrounded by palm trees, the citadel and the dark Mokkatam extending into the distance with its several smaller forts, while the sun broke forth in unclouded brightness, was beautiful beyond measure—a true pictorial treat for those sitting at the table—and that they

were not insensible to the beauties of nature, I was convinced by the Arabian teacher, who immediately directed my attention to this charming landscape.

The instruction the boys receive is suited to the objects of the institution, which forms the intermediate link between the preparatory school, and the higher one. Military training is combined with the regulations of this school. a system which I have not unfrequently heard censured. For my own part I think that a double advantage accrues from it to the youths who are being educated, although it may at the same time serve the private views of the Viceroy.

A very intelligent and excellent young man, Mustapha Bey, an Egyptian, who received his education in Europe is at the head of this establishment, and the enthusiasm which may be read in his eyes, when he speaks of it, is certainly the best guarantee for the proper performance of his duties.

The weather having cleared up, I wished to avail myself of the opportunity to pay the Viceroy another visit, but I heard that he had proceeded on horse-back to Old Kahira. I therefore turned my horse's head in the same

direction, hoping to meet him, and on this occasion, to observe also in what manner he presented himself to the public.

It was not long before a Kawass outrider indicated his approach. I mixed with the crowd in order to allow his Highness to pass, but as soon as Mehemet Ali observed me he beckoned me to his side, and I accompanied him to the palace.

He was without any show, and accompanied only by a small retinue, amongst whom, Menieli Pasha was distinguished, by his tall, commanding figure and martial deportment. Achmed Menieli Pasha is a celebrated general of cavalry in Egypt, who has only recently been appointed minister of war, and who by his splendid charge with the regiment of guards, which he then commanded, contributed in no small degree to the fortunate issue of the battle of Konieh.

The Viceroy was distinguished from the rest only by his greater simplicity of dress. But the eyes of the people who drew back respectfully as he approached, seemed to follow him everywhere with affection and admiration, and without the least indication of slavish fear; an assertion which will astonish not a few in

Europe, but I have convinced myself a hundred times over, that Mehemet Ali is, notwithstanding all his despotic measures, popular with every class of his subjects; the best proof that his government is not as impolitic as our theorists pretend. He repeatedly acknowledged the salutes which he received on every side, with much grace and affability and without interrupting our lively conversation for a moment.

Thus we reached the palace, where I took leave, in order to enjoy, on the neighbouring island of Ruda, the beauty of the evening after a delightfully refreshing shower.

This charming woody, island has been unfortunately much spoiled by the unlucky idea of laying out what is called an English garden or park. I have already on a former occasion observed that gardens laid out in this style, the chief elements of which are air, wood, meadows and lawns, are better adapted for a cheerful and pastoral landscape than for grand scenery, and are totally unsuited to this climate and the imposing solemnity of Egypt. These *a priori* notions I here found decidedly confirmed by ocular demonstration and the result was the more lamentable, as an exceeding

ignorant fellow, a true John Bull of a gardener of whom there are but too many in England, had heaped together, at an enormous expense, the most tasteless absurdities. Among these I saw a most ridiculous building combining all the absurdities of English architecture, and in which all orders were jumbled together, the Greek, however, pretending to predominate. It certainly was marvellously in keeping with the latter, that one of the *façades* should represent a grotto with natural rocks, and these too, most clumsily imitated. To this was added the nonsensical inconvenience that you could only wind your way into it by stooping through the tortuous entrance which is scarcely two feet in breadth, in order to penetrate the interior of the dark grotto, where, for about two minutes, a little cascade plays to order, being furnished with water from a cistern on the roof. At the entrance of this absurd toy, seats are placed, from which a view is obtained of a lake, bounded by irregular curved lines, the abrupt borders of which are, in order to give them a still more unnatural appearance, enclosed by white looking walls rounded off at the top. Farther on, this reservoir runs into a canal narrow enough

to leap over, which is confined in its whole course by similar walls and full of stinking mud, winds like a disgusting reptile through the whole park, with as many sinuosities as a cork-screw, until it terminates in a small basin, shaped exactly like a certain piece of furniture which cleanly persons use at their morning and evening toilet. The green water of this canal is surrounded by parched and sorry-looking shrubs and fields of clover, which present, instead of a smooth lawn, only a number of small and elevated squares, as in a kitchen-garden, on account of the irrigation which is indispensable here. Even the isolated groups of trees, distributed here and there, have a disagreeable effect, much about the same as if *we* were to plant them in the middle of a potato field or a kitchen-garden, instead of placing them in a meadow or pasture-ground. Here may be seen plainly the want of a just adaptation of means to a proposed end, for in the rectangular figures, intersected by the straight avenues of the promenades which I praised round Kahira, the same regular squares of clover, which there are merely used to fill up, and resemble a huge chess-board, and harmonise with the regular walks

enclosing them, afford a pleasing and original picture to the eye ; but here, where they are employed to imitate woods and meadows, they produce the most clumsy effect.

The attempt to give the ground more variety by artificial elevations, and separate hills, has proved quite as absurd, for the unnatural shapes given to them, make the former resemble moles and the latter *tumuli*. But even in the plantations, this singular artist has shewn himself to be an egregious bungler, for a few gigantic and aged sycamore trees, which if disposed with taste, might have produced the most imposing effect, are either concealed in plantations of flaunting poplars and willows, or the grandeur of their appearance is totally destroyed. The shrubs are in general planted so far apart, that more of the dark ground than of the green foliage is visible ; the fir trees are placed so near the road, which they overgrow, and the groups are distributed so abruptly, stiffly, and at such uneven distances over the fields of clover, that the Egyptians must form a very poor opinion of the reputed taste of the English in gardening, when they compare this *salmagundi* with

Schubra, which has been so admirably laid out by Greeks.

This is also probably the reason why another part of the island has been submitted to the care of a different gardener, (a Frenchman, I believe) who has in some degree followed the style of Schubra, and has laid out some few plantations which are in better taste, although they are by no means equal to the latter admirable gardens. He has allowed himself, notwithstanding his better natural judgment, to be misled by the example near him, and has introduced among his regular figures some of the unfortunate errors of his colleague, which belong neither to art nor to nature.

I think that a new *genre* ought to be invented for Egyptian gardening, in which regularity should be the fundamental principle, but which should not exclude the greatest diversity. As irrigation is a *conditio sine qua non*, and could not be concealed, it ought to serve to define the figures, which, if well premeditated, and cleverly executed, would produce very original effects, and very pleasing pictures, *en gros*, and *en detail*. As a whole, it would, in some degree, resemble an arabesque, as the outlines would be

formed by the inevitable canals, but the shading, and filling up of the picture, by all kinds of vegetables suited to the climate, from the gigantic sycamore, to the smallest flower. As Nature varies in every climate, and stamps each country with a peculiar character, the art of gardening should, every where, follow different principles. For the north of Europe, the principle of English gardening, is, in my opinion, better suited than any other, with a few local exceptions.

The villas of Italy, require different environs, and I have amused myself by inventing new systems for Algiers, Barbary, Greece, and Egypt, diversified to suit each of these countries, which I shall publish at a later period, in an appendix to my small work on landscape gardening, which was received by the public with more kindness, than it's merits deserved. At present, I have said enough on this subject.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SLAVE MARKET. FOSTAT. THURA.

SOCIETY exacted from me, the next few days, I was obliged to give a dinner to the consuls, another to several Turks of rank, to whom pipes also were served during the meal, then to discharge my arrears of visits, and, finally, to make divers purchases.

There are many temptations for the purse of a stranger, to be met with in Cairo. Indian wares of every description, stuffs, miniature works of art, scarce fruit, highly prized by the *gourmand*, and to be obtained proportionately cheap here; all sorts of precious stones, more especially turquoises and emeralds, of which,

there is a large selection at reasonable prices. The products of Yemen, are of a grotesque nature, and the wares, from the interior of Africa, comprise still more curious articles—for example, the singular whips, made of the skin of the hippopotamus, called in the Arabian, *kurbash*; whence, doubtless, in the time of the crusades, the word, “*karbatsche*,” was introduced into the German. The manufactures, with which Turkey and Syria supply this market are, however, very dear, and the assortment poor.

On this occasion, I also visited the black slave market; which, certainly, inspires the Europeans, with very different feelings from the Orientalists; although, the slaves are, generally, treated here kindly.

It is distressing, that, notwithstanding this, Europeans, generally, should unite in asserting, that the slaves are treated by themselves with more severity than by the Moslems. Could one only succeed in setting aside the tragic character that pervades the whole system; (and what would be the good of uselessly lamenting what is, for the present, inevitable), it must be confessed, without affectation, that this slave market, putting out of

the question, the degradation of mankind, (which, however, is frequently to be met with in splendid saloons, among stars and orders, and in more revolting forms, being there, *voluntary*), presents likewise, much of the comic character. In the first place, the slaves themselves, betray neither grief nor dejection, in their manner; but, certainly, the most singular and original habits.

Distributed in the open apartments, and courts of a large building, they sit in groups, the greater number laughing and joking, not unfrequently, with an idiotic indifference, and a brutal expression of features.

You frequently see newly arrived female slaves, still in the costume of their country—that is to say, almost naked—if, however, they be such as are sold second hand, they are dressed in the Oriental costume; and these, generally, distinguish themselves by their ill-humor, and rather impertinent behaviour—yet, are not without a certain degree of coquetry. These latter, also, frequently refuse to allow their faces to be seen, and affect anger, and an aversion to their purchaser; whilst those in a state of semi-nudity, shew with perfect indifference, not only their faces, but any other

part, that may be commanded, just as a sheep would patiently submit to examination.

We had with us, a Levantine, who held an appointment in the French Consulate, whose remarkable tact, and ludicrous coolness, in the inspection of slaves, together, with the peculiar technical terms, which he used on the occasion, rendered it impossible for a spectator to refrain from laughing, notwithstanding the disgust it inspired one with.

Without the least hesitation, he laid hold of a girl of fourteen years by the arm, and drawing the *bernouse* aside, in which she had enveloped herself, felt her young breasts in the same manner, as you would test the maturity of a fruit. “*Fort bien !*” he exclaimed, addressing himself to us; “*c’est frais, cela a poussé comme une orange.*” He now seized one of the second hand slaves with more roughness, and, regardless, of her resistance, lifted the long robe that covered her; but, immediately dropping it, exclaimed, “*ce n’est rien ça, elle est faite.*” A third slave from Abyssinia, much prettier than the former, was next inspected from the soles of her feet, to the hundred plaits that encircled her head; after which, she was obliged to shew her tongue, and her teeth; and, the result of

the inspection, was stated in these words: "*Voilà une jolie fille, bien portante, d'une belle chute de reins, mais la gorge est apelatie en diable !*"

However brutal this may appear, it is a true portrait of this kind of traffic here ; and, being characteristic, I believe it not to be out of place.

In order, however, to change the subject, which has in more than one respect its dark side, I shall now conduct the reader through Old Cairo, to the school of artillery at Thura, a place which in all probability has been built on the site of ancient Troy ; as the Egyptian Babylon is also said to have been built on the mountains behind Fostat. For my own part, however, I believe that the last mentioned place was originally situated, where the Citadel of Mehemet Ali now stands.

At Fostat, (Old Kahira) we commenced by inspecting the coptic chapel, under which is a crypt-like compartment, supposed to be the grotto in which the virgin with the infant Jesus and his father Joseph on their flight to Egypt found a resting place. We were obliged in justice to give the monk who had conducted us to this Christian exhibition, an Arabian *backshis*, although the bricked cellar

had not the slightest resemblance to a grotto in the rocks. In the chapel itself, however, we discovered some moorish works of art, inlaid with wood and ivory, as costly as they were tasteful. From this place we directed our steps towards the magnificent Mosque of Amru, the conqueror of Egypt, which is built in a noble style, but dilapidated and surrounded by heaps of ruins. A spacious court, surrounded by cloisters of treble and quadruple rows of pillars, would not be unworthy even the ancient schools of Greece.

In the centre of the court stands a small building, likewise tastefully ornamented, a lasting proof of Amru's justice, like the mill at Potsdam; for it belonged to a poor jewess who would not sell it to the Sultan, for which reason instead of having it pulled to the ground, he contented himself with building around it. Several miraculous objects are moreover to be seen in this mosque, which has in addition this particular distinction, that every year, on the last Friday of the Rhamadan, the Viceroy visits it, in great state, with his whole retinue of nobles and officers.

These wonderful objects consist, first, of a pillar which the great Amru, I do not know on

what occasion, was going to cut through; he however only produced a deep cleft with his damascus blade, an effect which is prettily represented by a vein in the marble; secondly, of two pairs of another kind of pillar, which are said to possess a similar property to the two celebrated columns in the sacred mosque at Kéruan, viz. that only the virtuous man can without danger pass through them, whilst the sinner is arrested in the attempt. On this occasion they gave rise to an amusing interlude. His Highness' Kawass, who accompanies me wherever I go whether I like it or not, a tall, thin old man, with a very long nose and wide mouth, carries as I have already observed as a badge of his office, a staff as long as himself, surmounted by a number of bells exactly resembling a child's rattle, for which reason I have given him the sobriquet of my officious rattle-snake; after some resistance on his part, he at last yielded to my persuasions to try his fortune between those portentous pillars, and behold!--so strong is the power of the imagination!--he stuck fast notwithstanding his leanness, turned as red as a cherry, then as pale as a corpse, and would perhaps finally have had an apoplectic stroke, had not the pow-

erful Ackermann forcibly seized him and pushed him through. The latter now cheerfully hastened to follow him, although half as stout again, and in all probability not much more immaculate than the terrified Kawass, but certainly an orthodox Roman Catholic Christian ; whilst the other was only a Mohammedan son of the devil, which makes no little difference. The other Moslems, in my suite, did not feel inclined, after this unfortunate trial, to make a second attempt, and I therefore continued my route to Thura.

The river running behind Fostat, which is about a quarter of a German mile in breadth, bordered by a row of sycamores, offers a beautiful view of Dshiseh and the wide extending line of pyramids on the opposite banks beyond Memphis' forest of palms. After a few minutes' stay at the *atelier* where the costly blocks of oriental Alabaster are hewn for Mehemet Ali's mosque, we continued our route through a desolate tract of land along the Mokatam, whilst M. Lesseps, who is one of the best and most elegant horsemen France ever produced, mounted on his splendid Barbary steed, delighted us with a most beautiful and perfect imitation of the Arabian evo-

lutions. The Viceroy's steady grey, which I rode, would have been unable, even with the best endeavours on my part, to execute anything like it; I was therefore obliged to content myself with a canter in a straight line, which very soon brought us into the extensive quarries, whence the stones were taken to build the pyramids, and where there still remain several regal rings and hieroglyphics, besides some skilfully carved gates, shewing the ancient dominion of the Egyptians. Immense caverns led deep into the rocks, but they were light and airy, unlike the Greek quarries, which communicate with each other by dark and tortuous galleries. The freestone breaks in layers which greatly facilitates the labour and in the quarry, already indicates, as it were, the shape of the colossal stones used in building the pyramids. On this occasion too, a number of labourers were working steadily, in order to obtain the materials for an equally gigantic undertaking, and which were to be transported by a railway to the water side.

The undertaking of which I am speaking, is the damming (*le barrage*) of the Nile at the commencement of the Delta, which has

been projected by M. Linant and approved of by the Viceroy. Of this structure, which, if it succeed as it is hoped it will, is likely to surpass almost any undertaking of the kind either ancient or modern, both with regard to its results and its boldness of conception, I shall have occasion to give a more detailed account. It was owing to this circumstance that I was the more pleased to number amongst those who so kindly accompanied me, M. Linant himself, a man who is as much distinguished by his modesty as by the activity of his genius. M. Linant has already resided seven years in Egypt, and the reading world has become acquainted with him through his travels in Arabia and to Meroe, he having furnished us with the first authentic drawings of the ruins of the latter. During this period he has made himself acquainted to such an extent with the language and the customs of the Arabs, that when mixing among them he is taken whenever he pleases for one of their own people; and he himself took so much pleasure in living with this extraordinary race of men, in the free state of nature to which they are accustomed, that he has repeatedly assured me, that the happiest days of his life had been spent on

his estates near Mount Sinai ; and it was there also that he hoped to end his days. A pleasing person, the mildest and most agreeable manners, a high degree of scientific instruction, and an enthusiastic and enterprising spirit, combined with great perseverance and self possession render M. Linant an acquisition, and an honour to any nation to which he belongs, either by birth or choice.

M. Linant was, in the literal sense of the word, at home in the quarries, for this enthusiast, who has but few wants, dwells here, during several months, in a cavern, in order to superintend the workmen personally, and to encourage them by his presence ; notwithstanding all his endeavours, however, he could not succeed in getting them to work deep into the rocks like the ancient Egyptians ; as it is they work most injudiciously round the surface. With them the fear of subterranean spirits is so powerful that they declared they would rather die than expose themselves to the communion of such companions in the deep recesses of the rocks, and whose cabalistic signs they fancy they see in the hieroglyphics even to the present time. We, however, were not so fortunate in our researches as to be disturbed by spirits,

unless they had taken the shape of wild pigeons and bats, many of which hovered around us with their black wings.

The school of artillery at Thura, which has been also founded by the Viceroy, is the only one of its kind which has not been organized by a Frenchman, for it owes its existence to a Spaniard, General Seguerra, and has undergone since his departure many injurious changes, and seems to have greatly declined.

Seguerra, who served honorably as a colonel of artillery, and distinguished himself in the wars between Spain and France, and who, as I have been assured, thoroughly understands his profession, may be looked upon as the founder of the Egyptian artillery department, so that his loss is irreparable, whilst the school of artillery itself, with every other military establishment of the kind, has also fallen into the hands of Muktar Bey, decidedly the most ignorant, presumptuous, in a word, the most incompetent man the Viceroy has in his service, but in whom he places an inconceivable confidence because he is his countryman, and possesses the qualities of a smooth courtier, having studied during seven years.

at the Viceroy's expense, in France, without having brought from that country, with the exception of a knowledge of the language, more than an intolerable degree of arrogance and the vice of excessive drunkenness. Seguerra's congé was chiefly owing to Muktar's intrigues, one of the many injuries he has inflicted upon the interests of his too kind master, less, perhaps, from ill will than from stupidity and caprice.

Seguerra was a man *de l'ancienne roche*, who fulfilled his duty to the letter, but at the same time exacted the same with great severity and without indulgence from others. His behaviour may certainly have been too haughty and rough, and as he spared no one, no matter who he might be, he could not fail to make a number of enemies both secret and open. He frequently declared that in Egypt he would receive commands from no one but Mehemet Ali in person, as there was no one in that country who understood his profession as well as he did himself. He, in fact, more than once sent the orders he received from the minister back again to him, stating, at the same time, that they were absurd and impracticable, and could not therefore be attended to by him. If they,

however, intended to compel him to execute them by means of Mehemet Ali's sovereign authority, he would leave the school and indeed demanded his dismissal. On the occasion of one of these disputes, which were by no means of unfrequent occurrence, he insisted, after sending back the commission of colonel he had received, upon Mehemet Ali giving him public satisfaction by a ceremonious visit at the school of artillery and after an examination of the scholars, which move succeeded perfectly for he was thereupon advanced to the rank of an Egyptian General. At last, however, he grew weary of these constantly repeated annoyances, and declared decidedly and irrevocably his determination to remain no longer in the Egyptian service; and not withstanding all the persuasions of Mehemet Ali, who was perfectly sensible of his merits, he very soon after returned to Spain where he is now in office, and is one of the most influential adherents of the queen.

With all his firmness of character, Seguerra seems, however, to have had *one* foible which may have contributed a good deal towards accelerating the termination of his Egyptian career, for the Turks were too much in

dread of him to have persevered long in their persecution of him without foreign assistance. This foible was a very unreasonable hatred of the French, which broke forth on all occasions and misled a man, who was otherwise extremely generous and obliging towards strangers of every other nation, to palpable acts of injustice wherever there was a Frenchman concerned. This produced, likewise, a difference between him and Soliman Pasha, whose superiority he could as little brook as that of the Turks, for he said that Soliman might be one of Napoleon's old soldiers but was certainly not one of the best; and understood nothing of artillery even if he could command a manœuvre of hussars. What would poor Seguerra say if he were to hear that his best scholars were taken from Thura and converted into clerks in Muktar's department? while ignorant favorites of the minister replace them as officers of artillery, and that Mr. Lubbart, the Egyptian historiographer, who formerly presided as *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre* over the royal theatre at Paris, where plenty of powder is certainly wasted, has been elected director of the examinations in the school of artillery. He certainly had less op-

portunities of acquiring a knowledge of gunnery than tactics from the "seven girls in uniform."

Of this description are Muktar Bey's new arrangements, and although Seguerra's spirit still pervades this establishment of which he was the founder, and, for so long a period, the admirable superintendent, it may nevertheless be observed, that under existing circumstances every vestige of his genius must disappear from it, if Mehemet Ali does not soon adopt some other means to restore it.

The present director at Thura, who fills this office in a far more subordinate degree than Seguerra did, and who, on receiving injudicious orders, has nothing to do but to obey and silently shrug his shoulders, is the Commander Bruneau, a Frenchman of merit, and he is assisted by Nazir Mustapha Effendi, who was educated in France. The buildings are simple, spacious and suited to the purpose, but not quite finished, that is to say, the stables are still in progress of erection; the locality for the school itself, however, with all the necessary habitations are completed. From what I have before stated the reader may conclude that order, cleanliness and good management prevail here no less than at

Kasserleng. Here too the courts are shaded and adorned by fine trees, and an excellent parade ground extends behind the establishment to the redoubts of the Mokkatam.

After a few manœuvres on foot, executed in the large court, by the scholars, with much precision, we passed on to the square before mentioned, to witness the gun and mortar practice. On this occasion the good effects of the perfection to which Seguerra had brought the drill of his pupils were made evident. I have rarely seen more precision in gunnery ; for, at a distance of seven hundred paces, twenty-eight out of forty-eight balls hit the target, the cannon being pointed by hand, and several bombs fired at a distance of twelve hundred paces, fell very near the mark.

The establishment can accommodate 330 pupils ; but at present it numbers only one hundred and eighty, for the Minister has named a considerable number of them, before the expiration of their studies, to various appointments, few of which belong to the department of artillery ! The number of professors and teachers amounts to six, and the sciences in which the pupils are instructed are the following :—writing, drawing, of which I saw

very excellent specimens, geometry, simple and applied algebra, mathematics, mechanics, the art of fortification, and the oriental languages. With regard to the maintenance of the pupils, greater liberality prevails here than at Kasserleng, for they are richly and tastefully dressed in uniform, similar to that of troops of the line, and are to receive, according to a recent order of Mehemet Ali, a monthly pay of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty piastres. The real progress the pupils make in the sciences in which they are instructed here, could only be tested by a regular examination. To the occasional questions which I put, I received prompt and correct answers, and as regards good manners and military carriage, the young men fulfilled, to do them justice, every reasonable expectation. I have before observed that Thura is supposed to occupy the site of ancient Troy, and probably took its name from a colony of Grecian soldiers.

M. Linant had had the kindness to send his gondola to convey us back, and we got on board, after having partaken of an excellent *dejeuné a la fourchette* in the refectory of Thura. It is a heavenly treat to glide down

the Nile, on an evening like this, in a *kangshe*, so superbly fitted up as that of M. Linant, and which even comprised a small library; not a breath of air was stirring, and we moved along softly and slowly, carried by the stream past the Coptic temple, where Moses is said to have been taken out of the water when an infant. We then examined the house of some Dervishes, dedicated to a new kind of religious worship, where they delight the pious votaries of their creed every Friday, with a giddy and stupifying dance. We afterwards passed a small palace, belonging to the last chief of the Mamelukes, whom Mehemet Ali pardoned, and allowed to pass his old age in peace. He saved himself from the slaughter, by counterfeiting death, and even allowed himself to be carried off as a corpse; he then availed himself of the first opportunity to escape, and although severely wounded, fortunately succeeded. Only one other Mameluke escaped besides him, owing to the spirit of his horse, which leapt over a wall seven feet in height, and on that side, too, where the precipice is at least eighty feet high; on reaching the bottom, it broke its neck, but its rider alighted without injury, so that he was enabled to conceal himself before his pursuers approached.

The groups of trees on the island of Ruda had a most beautiful effect, owing to the brilliancy of the setting sun, and cast their shadows on the Nilometer, on the opposite side, over which M. Linant is erecting, by orders of the Viceroy, a light Moorish temple, as a screen ; the shades of night now closed this enchanting view, which, during the last few minutes of our passage, seemed to have turned all our thoughts within ourselves, for a dead silence reigned as we reached, by the light of the stars, the little garden attached to my residence, and the solitary stone steps that led to it from the river.

CHAPTER XV.

A FIELD DAY AT DSHISEH.

THE following day was more sultry than the preceding ones, and yet not less productive of enjoyment, for his Highness had sent me an invitation to be present at the practice of the pupils of the cavalry school at Dshiseh, which is under the superintendence of Major Warin, formerly first Aid-de-Camp of Marshal St. Cyr, and a man who has rendered the most important services to Egypt. Baki Bey's gondola came to fetch me at seven o'clock, and on my arrival at Dshiseh, I found all the Consuls, a considerable number of the *beau monde* of Cairo, and many of the lower order

of spectators assembled there. Major Warin conducted me to an upper apartment in his house, where, besides some strangers, I met the amiable family of M. Bonfort, whose society I seek daily, in preference to any other. M. Bonfort's sister, Madame Chianti, goes in the European circles of Cairo, by the name of "the beautiful widow," and her younger sister rivals her in blooming freshness. But a more striking beauty than both these ladies is M. Bonfort's cousin, Mademoiselle Maritza.

She is a being of uncommon loveliness, in whose charming appearance one sees, as it were, embodied the future union of Orient and Occident—for purely asiatic in the rich contour, and perfect symmetry of her form, her raven hair, and black glowing eyes, she is purely European in the finely formed mouth, the thoughtful expression of the face, the feeling and impressive look, the melodious sound of her voice, and in mirth as well as sorrow, the undeniable stamp of a noble mind.

But there is something more remarkable still, which is difficult to be expressed in words. I might call it a tragic glory, which visibly surrounds certain persons like a tran-

sparent veil, and invests their memory with something not easily to be forgotten.

Let me however be well understood, I do not mean by this the foreshadowing of a tragical fate, but only the unequivocal indication of an inward tragical power. This peculiarity is rare, and of all ladies that I have ever seen, I do not recollect having observed it more strongly expressed, than in the unrivalled, indeed the greatest of all actresses, Miss O'Neill.

There can be no doubt that for a dramatic career, no qualification can be more advantageous than this, and often, when I heard the divine Maritza sing, with the voice of a Pasta, and with every promise, under good tuition, of rivalling that great artist; when I gazed upon her matchless form, and her beautifully expressive face, I could scarcely refrain from regretting, that by the imperious rules of society, so rare a combination of qualities should be withheld from their fitting destination, to the loss of thousands. I could not help, on this occasion, reverting to the St. Simonians and their dreams, some of which it is really to be lamented, cannot be realised.

But these reflections were soon interrupted by the arrival of Mehemet Ali, who, on his appearance, was received with military honors and deafening cheers.

Supported by Muktar Bey, and the new Minister of War, he briskly ascended the steep shore, threw himself lightly upon a richly caparisoned horse, which had been kept in readiness for him, and then rode off to the field selected for practice, and the tribune which had been there erected for him. I was directed to follow him hither.

He received me as usual with the greatest affability, and invited me to seat myself on an arm-chair on his right, in order to obtain a good view of the evolutions. On the Viceroy's left, sat, on a cane-chair, (for the orientals are true Spaniards as regards etiquette, although they do not, in the least, confirm our ideas of it,) Mr. Lesseps; no other strangers were admitted. But the Viceroy's court stood around us, so that we had only the front view uninterrupted. Mr. Lesseps, whom I have already before mentioned, as a man of most winning manners, and a general favorite, is looked upon by Mehemet Ali almost as a son, for the young consul's father

remained his steadfast friend, through all changes, good and evil, and when Mehemet Ali began his career in humble circumstances, had often been his prudent counsellor, and not unfrequently his protector. Added to which, at that time, as well as now, an European consul-general—from a certainly remarkable deference on the part of the Turks to European civilisation, and intellectual superiority, as it reveals itself to them, more especially where their mercantile interests are concerned, has much more influence and power, than an Ambassador at the court of Europe.

It is therefore not to be wondered at, that these gentlemen, who, in Europe, are so insignificant, and here of so much influence, should be possessed of the exaggerated sense of their own importance, with which they are reproached, and not unjustly.

The fault is not in the consul, but in human nature, which always moulds itself according to circumstances. It is therefore the more pleasing, when in a young man, who unites with his consular dignity, many eminent personal qualifications, and enjoys, beside, the marked favour of the sovereign of the country—when in such a person, you find not only

not the least trace of presumption, but on the contrary, always an evident anxiety to please everybody, and whenever the opportunity presents itself, to reconcile by his fine tact hostile parties, (of which there are here but too many.)

This is the part M. Lesseps plays here, and I cannot help mentioning also the becoming manner in which he receives the paternal advances of the Viceroy, for it is always pleasing to see a man keeping the correct balance between personal dignity, duty and individual gratitude. I am also firmly convinced that although M. Lesseps would be fit for any higher diplomatic post, as long as Mehemet Ali lives no French consul-general, can ever become so useful to his country, in Egypt, as he is at present.

I have been told an anecdote, which is not only strikingly characteristic of this young man's adroit frankness, but has also a general interest from another highly esteemed person concerned in it.

During M. Lessep's stay at Paris last year, the king, who is too keen-sighted not to entertain a high opinion of Mehemet Ali, asked him confidentially :

“ But what do you think of Ibrahim ?”

“ Sire,” replied Lesseps, “ I dare not arrogate to myself a decided opinion respecting him, as I know but little of him ; but this much is certain, that no one knows better than Ibrahim, how to manage his private fortune, and experience teaches us that men, who understand this well, often become great as the managers of states.”

I can fancy I see the sly and winning smile with which the King of the French must have listened to this reply, which is worth a whole life of diplomacy, and might even excite the envy of a Russian*

- Being already in the chapter of anecdotes, I must here add one of Mehemet Ali himself, which is rather original, and places the uncommon simplicity, or as I might justly call it, the antique innocence of that great man in the most striking light.

* The brilliant part which M. Lesseps has since played in Spain, confirms what I have here said of him.

When he once spoke to M. Lesseps of the services rendered to him by his father, a theme to which he often recurs with pleasure and gratitude, he laughingly added :

“ I was once placed in no small embarrassment in his house. I, together with several other Turks, uncivilised, ignorant, lawless creatures, as we all were then, had dined with him, when after dinner it was discovered that some silver knives and forks were missing ; never did I feel myself more uncomfortable, or more anxious to find out a thief than on this occasion, for I was continually tormented by the thought, that my friend might believe that I had myself stolen the articles. Luckily, the real depredator was soon found out, which took a great weight off my mind.”

I refrain from all comment on this story, pitying those who do not appreciate its noble simplicity, as coming from Mehemet Ali's mouth.

The manœuvres now began to rivet all our attention, and they will be sufficiently described when I say that as regards military deportment, and the extreme elegance of the uniform, (grey dolman's with yellow braid, and white scarlet pantaloons) as well,

the precision of the manœuvres performed, the four squadrons of the cavalry-school were not to be distinguished from European regiments, with this exception, that they rode finer and swifter horses, which was proved by the splendid charge which they made, and by their lightning-like rapidity and almost magic halt.

The Viceroy told me on this occasion, that he had a brigade of cavalry in Syria, which was entirely composed of Nedshi, on which he had spared neither trouble nor expense, but that he expected from those regiments double the service that the others were able to do.

“ I too,” he exclaimed with becoming enthusiasm, “ was once a firm cavalry soldier, and not the worst rider of my troops. Since we have introduced the European practice, we pay more attention to the *ensemble*, but at present, a good and well-trained horse forms the principal ingredient of a good horseman.”

“ Your Highness,” M. Lesseps interposed, “ is in reality still *too* good a horseman ; for a short time since we saw you galloping

about so wildly on the slippery declivity of the citadel, that we all felt quite alarmed."

Mehemet Ali stroked his beard with a laugh and replied :

"No, no, that is nonsense, now I am old, and leave those tricks to young men like you."

He then told us of the many *tours de force* of the Mamelukes, and gave his opinion that there was no cavalry in the world equal to theirs, and that the French were wrong in boasting, that their own, in equal numbers, and without the aid of infantry, could ever have stood against the Mamelukes ; an opinion, which by the bye, I had already heard upheld by several French officers of that period.

"But to create such a body again," continued the Viceroy, "would be utterly impossible ; everything has its time, and when that is past, it makes room for something new. The dead cannot be recalled to life !"

Would to God, thought I, that many of our Christian rulers would take this practical lesson of the mussulman to heart !

We were here disturbed by a strange accident The heat was so oppressive that one of

the servants of Mehemet Ali's suite got a *coup de soleil*, and suddenly the frightful sounds, usually emitted by persons suffering under those attacks, became audible in our immediate neighbourhood. Mehemet Ali did not seem to take any notice of them, although his attendants had considerable trouble to get the howling man out of the way, but continued his conversation as if nothing had passed. But as soon as the man's removal had been effected, I remarked that he enquired twice about the state of the patient, and gave orders that he should be taken care of.

This benevolent consideration united with the dignity of his previous composure, which is not at all compatible with our European customs, pleased me exceedingly.

After the conclusion of the manœuvres, we rode, accompanied by military music, to the large riding-school, which was uncovered, but surrounded by high walls, where another tribune had been prepared for the Viceroy. Here stood several divans, in one of which he sat himself down, in the Oriental fashion, and assigned me a place next to him, whilst his officers, and courtiers stood around us as before, and

alternately handled the fan to protect his Highness from the flies, which are so troublesome here.

After pipes and coffee had been brought in, the other consuls, present, also paid their respects to the Pasha. Before this, however, took place, a little scene occurred, which I must not pass over, although it is not exactly flattering to my vanity. The great friendliness of the Pasha, and a momentary distraction on my part, led me into one of those mistakes, which may, sometimes, happen to the most cautious; but, which, nevertheless, are always to be blamed, as a departure from propriety.

I entirely forgot the remainder of the company, whom, at an Eastern, even more easily than at an European Court, one gets accustomed to regard as mere machines; and recollecting as little, that with Moslems, one must never speak of the female sex, I inconsiderately observed to the Viceroy, that almost everything pleased me in Egypt, a great deal excited my admiration, but there was one thing I did not approve of, and that was, his Highness's prohibiting so severely, and suddenly, the poor Almehs, who represented an original feature of the Egyptian national character, from

following their musical and dancing avocations.

By the sudden start of the interpreter, and the frightened looks of those around us, who understood the French language, I became immediately sensible of my mistake, and felt the blood mount to my face in consequence; but it was too late now, especially as Mehemet Ali, who does not let anything escape him, had already remarked that something unusual had taken place, and expressly asked Artim Bey, (who else might, perhaps, have thought of some modification of my words—although it is a dangerous thing for the interpreter, to change the meaning of any sentence addressed to the Viceroy) what I had said.

With an embarrassed look, Artim Bey stammered out the sentence, which I would, willingly, have bought back, at the time, at any price. But, at present, I no longer regret my want of tact; for, without it, I should not have had the opportunity of admiring Mehemet Ali's royal conduct, at a moment, that might, judging according to the manners and customs of the Turks, have proved a very critical one. Without changing a feature, he addressed me, as usual, with a friendly smile—

“I do not comprehend your remark; who, and what are the Almeh’s? I have never before heard of them.”

Everybody was silent.

“Oh!” he at last exclaimed, as if a thought had suddenly struck him; “you mean, no doubt, the public musicians;* true, that is an affair, which concerns my minister of police; and, if he has been severe with these people, they no doubt, have, given him ample cause for it. However, I will make enquiry into it; for I do not remember having heard anything before on this subject.”

He then, with the most perfect calmness, passed on to another topic, with as much forbearance, as delicacy, choosing my journey hither, which I had been myself speaking of, as the subject of conversation, enquiring minutely into one thing and then into another, in order, the sooner to forget what had just shocked him.

I have seldom received so impressive a les-

* The Almehs are generally accompanied by male musicians, who are also frequently called in at Turkish banquets, to amuse the company.

son, nor one read in a milder manner. Nor could I ever afterwards observe, that I had lost, in the smallest degree, anything of Mehemet Ali's favour, by this gross, though unintentional blunder ; I had even sufficient reason to induce me to believe, that had I touched upon this subject during a *tête-a-tête*, with none present but the interpreter, the answer would have followed candidly, and without hesitation — for Mehemet Ali has, long since, raised himself above the prejudices of his own, as well as of other countries. Yes, with a person of his generous disposition, it was, perhaps, even owing to this little humiliation, which he must have observed I felt, that he immediately afterwards shewed me a mark of honour ; which, as I have been assured, has never been conferred on any stranger before me, on so public an occasion.

When his dinner was announced, and I rose in order to take leave, together with the consuls, he asked me, whether I preferred a European meal, which had been prepared for us, or, if I could make up my mind to try the Turkish *cuisine*, whether I would, dine with him *tête-à-tête*.

It may be easily imagined, with what haste I seized the opportunity of replying gratefully and appropriately, "That, although I was afraid, I was as yet, too ignorant with regard to Turkish manners, not to offend, perhaps, more than once against them, the honour conferred upon me, was so great, that I would avail myself of it, at any risk."

Scarcely had I said this, when the numerous retinue about us—with the exception of Artim Bey—disappeared, and two servants hung gold embroidered napkins round his Highness, and also round me, and then, kneeling, spreads others of the same description over our knees, whilst other attendant spirits, held large silver basins containing rosewater for us to wash; and others again, brought in a table laden with silver gilt plate, and numerous dishes. But, besides some delicately carved spoons of wood, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, there were no other dinner implements; and, we were obliged, in true Turkish style, to make use of our hands, instead of knives and forks. I had no other resource, than to imitate the Viceroy as closely as possible; and, from the elegance with

which he got through this difficult task, I should never have thought, as I learned at a subsequent period, and afterwards had frequent opportunities of witnessing myself, that he has been in the habit, for many years, of eating in the European fashion, and only adheres to the Turkish custom on public occasions.

The preparation of the dishes was, moreover, really excellent, and the Viceroy partook of them all, with the appetite of a youth. Iced water was also handed to us in golden cups, and I drank some excellent claret. Many courses were served, and sweets, acids, and different kinds of meat, strangely mingled, besides a number of cold *hors d'œuvres*, which stood on the table, were placed before us.

Another embroidered napkin similar to those which were hung about us, lay within reach to wipe our hands on. In about half an hour, the pilaf, always the last dish here, indicated the termination of the Turkish meal, —whereupon, the dessert was served, with which Schubra supplies the Viceroy's table so abundantly.

A private secretary here entered the apart-

ment, to deliver a letter to his Highness, which had just arrived from the Governor of Sudan, in the Senaar, which he subsequently read aloud. Its contents, related to an expedition ordered by Mehemet Ali, in the direction of the as yet half fabulous Mountains of the Moon, following the course of the Bahr-el-Abiad, (the white river) and along the banks of another, the Bahr-el-Azrak, (blue river) to the Fazols, where rich gold mines are supposed to be.

In order to obtain accurate information, Mehemet Ali had requested of the Austrian Government a company of ten persons, consisting of miners and naturalists—with whom he has made very generous terms. These men had already set out on their journey of exploration; but, owing to the obstacles which the climate, and the unusual mode of life, oppose to the Europeans, they had not as yet made much progress.

He betrayed a little attack of impatience at this delay, and, on the return of the court and the consuls, during the service of the coffee, he earnestly requested M. Laurin, the Austrian Consul-general, to assist him to expedite an undertaking in which he was so much interested. I hinted, that Philip

of Macedon, also, owed a great part of his good fortune in war, to the discovery of gold mines, as well as his successor, Alexander; and sincerely hoped that his Highness, who had inherited so much from his celebrated countrymen, might meet with similar success.

“ We must see what God will do for us,” was the Viceroy’s reply, “ I do not reckon too much on this affair; but favorable indications are not to be neglected.”*

We were here interrupted by the repetition of the equestrian manœuvres, which were executed before and after our meal, at different intervals, by the cleverest pupils of the establishment, conducted by their able riding master, M. Bier, a German, in the most masterly style, both with regard to the breaking in of the horses, clever riding, running at the ring, pistol shooting, fencing, vaulting, &c., &c.

On expressing my astonishment to the Viceroy, at this extraordinary skill and preci-

* The results have since then, but imperfectly answered the expectations of Mehemet Ali, with regard to the gold.

sion on the part of the scholars, I asked him whether there were not some Fellahs among them. He answered, "O, no; they are all Turks," although he very well knew, that the contrary was the case. He evidently gave this answer, in order to flatter the Turks who were present; and who, like himself, look down upon the Arabs with contempt; though the latter are, by far, the best soldiers of Mehemet Ali's army—while it is only recently, that they have been, from mere necessity, advanced to the lowest rank of officers.

This is a weakness of Mehemet Ali, which, to a certain degree, resembles the pride of the nobility with us; and, which alone, perhaps, has prevented him from acting a much greater part, than has hitherto been allotted him. Had he, from the commencement, been accustomed to consider himself as the *future Caliph of the Arabs*, and known how to assemble that numerous people with new born enthusiasm about his person, by freeing them totally from the Turkish yoke, his power would have become colossal—whereas, at present, the Turks, to whom, although a small minority, he makes the Arabs subject, still cling to Constantinople, and

merely follow his *good fortune*. In adversity, the faith of most of them, would be very problematical.

The establishment at Dshiseh has, under the indefatigable superintendence of Colonel Warin, reached such a degree of perfection, and has, at the same time, acquired such an European appearance, that you would really forget in its precincts that you were in Egypt, and be inclined to agree with those who maintain, that education and discipline determine the character of a people as well as that of an individual. This much is not to be denied that here barbarous Turks and Fellahs, just escaped from slavery, have been transformed, at least, as far as exterior appearance goes, into perfect Frenchmen, and closely imitate the latter in the most minute national and military habits. This is still more the case, with those Egyptians, who have been brought up in France, and received the whole of their early education in that country.

Of Colonel Warin, it may also be said, that he was made for this appointment, for he had already been styled, in France, amongst his comrades, *le type de l'officier de l'état-major* and afterwards for brevity's sake *le type*.

Everything, however, that I saw here, proved to me, that as rigidly as he respects forms, he by no means neglects the spirit. Many of the plans of situation and position drawn by his scholars, which he afterwards shewed me, partly representing battles that had really taken place, and partly imaginary, could not have been executed more cleverly by the most skilful officers, and I everywhere discovered that the method of education, adopted by the colonel, did not confine itself merely to making good cavalry soldiers of the pupils, but good soldiers in general, as far as the capacity of the individual allowed him to hope for the attainment of such a result.

The Viceroy appreciates all this, and it was a very delicate attention on his part, that he, not on the day after, but on the day before, the examination, conferred upon him the dignity of a Bey, (which, besides the advancement of rank, leads to an increase of pay,) and sent him the insignia set with large brilliants, with the express message, that this distinction had nothing whatever to do with the services the Viceroy still expected from Colonel Warin, but was only a reward for those already received, and a mark of his

sincere gratitude. With us, masters who know how to reward in so gracious a manner have become very rare, and from the same reason the pleasure to serve them.

Wasil Bey, for this is the present name of Colonel Warin, has a peculiar affinity of fate with the celebrated Allard, the present generalissimo of the kingdom of Lahore.

They are both from the same place, both descended from poor parents, both of them entered the same day the military profession, both fought their first duel on the same day; they were both made officers the same day, after which they both had long protracted engagements with twin sisters; both were wounded on the same day; they were both obliged to leave France, after Napoleon's fall; and finally both of them met with distinction and fortune, (although not equally splendid), in the service of the greatest living princes of the East, Mehemet Ali and Runjeet Singh.*

* Allard has died since then, and I believe Colonel Warin also, but whether both quitted the world on the same day, I know not.

In this establishment there is a Frenchman who has been converted to the moslem faith, a talented man, and who very kindly undertook the order for a picture, which is intended to recal to my memory this, in many respects, remarkable day.

And to the close of the day fortune smiled upon me.

The three ladies, that I have hastily described at the commencement of this chapter, could not find their boat on their return home in the evening, owing to the neglect of their servants, so that I was enabled to offer them, and some gentlemen who accompanied them my own gondola. What a picture my cabin now presented, surrounded by three divans. On each divan, one of those fair beings, promised to the faithful in Mahomet's paradise, reclined in easy and graceful positions, leaving it difficult to decide which was the most captivating. Suddenly, as night set in, Maritza seized her guitar, and sang the affecting romance, "*La Folle*," once such a favorite in the Parisian *salons*, now raising her full and melodious voice, as if in frantic delight, now letting it slowly die away in the most plaintive grief.

She had long ceased, and yet none of us

dared to interrupt, even by breathing, the death like silence that prevailed.

We shortly after landed at the steps of my garden, and when I offered my arm to the beautiful Maritza, to lead her up, I could not refrain from whispering:—" *Ah de grace ne chantez plus la folle, j'ai trop peur d'en devenir fou.*" At five and twenty I had some reason to fear.

CHAPTER XVI

IBRAHIM PASHA. THE POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL
FACTORIES.

IBRAHIM PASHA had arrived a few days after me at Cairo, but was suffering from a fistula, which was very cleverly operated upon by Clot Bey, but still prevented him from leaving his bed, or receiving visitors.

As soon as he was a little better, and able to spend the day on the sofa of a summer pavilion, he gave me permission to pay him a friendly visit and without ceremony.

One is scarcely less anxious to see the hero of Konieh, than his great father himself, and indeed I found Ibrahim very different from what

I had pictured him to myself, according to the description I had received from those who knew him.

Everybody however agrees on this point, that he is wonderfully changed, by his constant association with Europeans, to the great advantage of his once rough character. He seemed still rather weak from his recent protracted illness, notwithstanding which everything about him indicated the careless soldier to whom few wants are known. He has a fine expressive eye, something pleasingly serene in his character, and no longer anything abrupt in his manner; yet he has nothing of the elegance and royal deportment of his father, nor his gracious and winning politeness. It is said, that he bears but little affection towards Europeans, and that he admires the English the most, for their, no doubt, in many respects, excellent and sterling qualities, which correspond better, than mere pleasing manners, with his own practical mind.

With regard to his achievements, he seemed to me to preserve exactly the happy medium becoming a famous warrior, between just self-esteem, without a tincture of vanity, and a manly modesty with regard to his deeds.

When I told him that of all the recent events of the war none had given rise to so much conversation in Europe, as his last campaign in Syria against the locusts, he related to me with much humour, the details. He commenced the war personally by filling his tarboosh with these destructive creatures, and throwing the contents into the sea. The whole army, provided with sacks, followed his example, and as they remained bivouacked in the district for several days, their object was perfectly attained. Indeed, thanks to this original idea of Ibrahim, a whole province which has been for years exposed to this scourge has been saved from devastation. The number of the locusts destroyed amounted to several ship loads.

It has been seen that Ibrahim knows how to keep his soldiers employed, during peace as well as in war, and he has managed within a short time, notwithstanding strong opposition at the commencement from the Turkish officers, to employ them in making streets and canals. I have already mentioned how passionately fond Ibrahim is of agriculture, and how indefatigably he indulges his taste, wherever he possesses estates. But in this he likewise assists

others in the most generous manner, although he is on the whole far more parsimonious than his father, and in every respect what is in general called a good manager.

I have frequently heard it objected to him in Egypt and in Europe, that he is immoderately addicted to the bottle. If this assertion was formerly in a measure well founded, he has also changed in that respect, for I know positively, and from the best authority, that although he likes good wine, he takes it in no larger quantity than, for example, any Englishman of property, and champagne, his favorite nectar, is at the same time the chosen beverage of the ladies.

At this time his drink had been reduced to Nile water alone, which I very much regretted, as they say he gives excellent European dinners, and has taken into his service, for this purpose, one of the most famous Parisian *artistes*. But I myself have helped to improve his cellar, by giving M. Bonfort, his *factotum*, at his request, from my little treasure of addresses, the best directions for obtaining Rhenish and Hungarian wine, champagne and claret, a proceeding which was not quite free from selfish motives, as I hope next year to profit by it myself in Syria.

Ibrahim was extremely anxious to obtain information on the subject of the organization of the Prussian militia, which is always erroneously viewed by strangers in the light of a National Guard, whilst the militia is, in fact, the real body of our army, and the line is, as it were, only a preparatory school; for here are to be found the permanent instructors, and at the same time, the continually changing recruits, until the whole nation having finally gone through this excellent system of training, become perfect soldiers. He seemed to enter into, and thoroughly comprehend my description, and was pleased with the system, although he was fully convinced that it was not suited to the oriental form of government, and that even in many European states it would be extremely hazardous. He was astonished that notwithstanding this arrangement, the expenses of our army were almost equivalent to one-half of the revenues of the land; when I told him, however, that it enabled us, in case of war, to bring immediately from three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand men into the field, and that a standing army of that importance would cost more than the country would be able to pay, he found that the

result was not bought too dearly, for, as it appears, Ibrahim does not belong to those who calculate upon eternal peace.

His description of the siege of Acre was full of energy and interest, and I was particularly struck by one of the expressions that he made use of respecting it. Although six or seven of his Turkish Generals and higher officers were present, he dwelt almost entirely on the gallant conduct of the Arabian soldiers, saying—

“No troops in the world, whatever may be their superior ability and experience in warfare over mine, could fight with more ardour or bravery, and when an instance of indecision or cowardice happened amongst them, it was always only on the part of the Turkish officers. I do not recollect an instance of this sort amongst the Arabs.”

These words are remarkable, for they confirm what I had already previously heard, that Ibrahim inclines entirely to that policy which looks upon Mehemet Ali's government and dynasty as an Arab one, in short as a revival of the ancient Caliphat, and by no means as a branch of the Turkish rule, and expects only from that policy its lasting greatness. My own opinions are precisely the same, for the Arabs seem to me

a people endowed with eternal youth, just as capable of attaining the highest pinnacle of glory, as of returning again for ages into a primitive state, whilst the Turks may be justly considered a nation, whose part in history is at an end. Acting on these views, Ibrahim has begun to promote Arabs in the army to the rank of subaltern officers ; he has not as yet ventured to go further, but will no doubt do so in case of another war. I look upon this tendency of Ibrahim's mind as a very fortunate sign for the future stability of his dynasty, which, according to my firm conviction, cannot be sufficiently identified with the Arabian people, to give a firm and solid basis to its power. The Turkish Mamelukes, taking their origin from different countries, will no doubt, partly from the force of habit, and partly as servants, bound to the ruler by the surest of all ties, their own interest, long remain indispensable, but it will be sufficient, for the purpose, if the road to promotion be only once opened to the natives.

After an hour of the most interesting conversation, I took my leave of the presumptive heir to the Egyptian throne, who very good-

humouredly saluted me in the European fashion, by putting the flat part of his hand on his tarboosh. Yet there had been a moment in the commencement of the audience, which threatened a more sudden and less agreeable termination to our interview.

As soon as I had seated myself on the ottoman, next the Prince, coffee was brought in and a pipe handed to him, but none to me. In the excitement of conversation, I did not at first remark this circumstance, but as soon as it struck me, I instantly made up my mind how to act.

Assuming immediately an air of offended dignity, I remained silent, and did not answer another word to the questions put to me. Ibrahim's unfeigned surprise proved to me, that the neglect shewn me was not his, but his attendant's fault; nevertheless, I remained mute, and was on the point of rising and quitting the kiosk without taking leave, when he, discovering the cause, called out loudly for a pipe for me. From that moment I continued the conversation, like Schiller's Armenian, from the point, where I had before interrupted it, exactly as if nothing had happened.

Let not this be interpreted as presumption or absurd vanity. I in reality cared but little about the matter ; but what Mehemet Ali had granted me, I had a right to expect from any one of his subjects, even though it were the heir to the throne. Besides there is no nation to whom, more than to the Turks, one might apply the words, which Goëthe puts into the mouth of the sapient Mephistopheles :

“My friend, all will be right ; as soon as thou confidest in thyself, thou knowest how to live.”

What you deem yourself and for what you uphold yourself, you easily become in other people's eyes, and most of all in those of the Turks.

It was eleven o'clock A.M. when I left Ibrahim ; I had therefore plenty of time on my hands, to visit during the remainder of the day several of the manufactories and the Polytechnic School. This establishment, whose name in imitation of the Parisian one, is not happily chosen, because it sounds somewhat presumptuous, and because that, which may in itself be useful and laudable, always receives as a copy a slight touch of the ridiculous, is under the direction of a young man, who has been brought up in England, and who has managed

to make the language as well as the manners of the Islanders so completely his own, that I at first took him for an Englishman. This great facility in adopting foreign civilization, acquiring foreign languages, and making a rapid progress in sciences hitherto quite unknown to them, is in reality a distinguishing quality of the Egyptians ; and they only require to be cautioned not to consider themselves too soon perfect in their acquirements. The beautiful palace formerly inhabited by the unfortunate Ismael Pasha, has been conceded to the Polytechnic School, and here the same regulation with regard to the exterior arrangement and preservation of the whole, which is so praiseworthily observed in all establishments of this kind in Egypt, is strictly adhered to. As regards the instruction of the pupils, I do not consider myself a sufficiently competent judge to give an opinion about it, nor indeed had I sufficient opportunities for it ; I saw, however, some excellent drawings, especially in the branch of mechanics ; I was less satisfied with what touched on the department of art.

Among the manufactories, some may be called truly colossal, and nothing has been spared in their construction. I have scarcely

seen finer iron-foundries in England; and one of the manufactories of printed cottons almost resembled a small city, arranged with the utmost consideration for the comfort and health of the workmen, which in England they do not seem to care much about. One sees here, all the most recent inventions brought into use; such as dying by steam, the preparation of steel patterns, &c. The excellence of the models, in brass and wood, prepared in this manufactory, by natives, under the superintendence of an Italian, without any other foreign aid, astonished me. I was still more struck, however, by the impudence with which Europeans formerly cheated the Pacha in these matters; for many models, which are now furnished for a few Spanish dollars, had formerly to be paid for by as many hundreds. As an amusing instance of the sort, the director showed me three large folio volumes, splendidly bound up in Morocco leather, which contained nothing but a quantity of different patterns pasted into them, which, in Europe, might be obtained for a civil word, or, at any rate, at a very trifling expence. Nevertheless, a certain commercial house did not feel ashamed to put down to the account of the Viceroy

for these patterns, as something very costly, and as a collection very difficult to be obtained, a sum of 24,000 francs! Is it to be wondered at, that after an experience like this, of European and Christian honesty, Mehemet Ali should have conceived a dislike to dealing with Europeans. That he did not, however, allow himself to be deterred by any consideration of this sort, and even quietly suffered himself to be cheated a hundred times over, in order to get the sooner to his object, as the time gained seemed to him infinitely more precious than the money lost, was great in him, and was the only means of realizing, during his life-time, such a plan of reform as he had conceived.

In the cloth manufactories, a coarse cloth is produced, which is much more durable, better dyed, and cheaper than with us; the finer qualities, however, are still greatly inferior to ours, answer also less the purpose of these manufactories, and are consequently made in much smaller quantities, indeed only to shew that it can be manufactured if required.

The paper mills furnish only one sort of good, strong, glazed paper, which the Turks use for everything, and which consequently suf-

fices for their wants. In the numerous cotton spinning factories there is scarcely an European employed, and even the most complicated machinery required for the purpose is partly repaired, partly made here, an incredible progress in a comparatively short period.

As I am no man of business, let this suffice for the chapter of manufactories.

CHAPTER XV.

ABU-ZABEL.

I now pass to another institution, which perhaps of all, that owe their existence to the Viceroy, is the most remarkable. But before doing so I must make particular mention of the eminent man, without whom it would never have come into life.

That worthy veteran, Sir Sidney Smith, and our clever physician and celebrated operator Tiefenback had both provided me with letters of introduction to their mutual friend, Clot Bey, a fortunate circumstance, to which no doubt owe the particularly kind reception, which was given me by the

chief of all the medical institutions of Egypt, General Clot Bey.

Clot Bey had politely offered to shew me, himself, over the institution at Abu-Zabel, and to explain to me all its details, but he had not as yet been able to do so, in consequence of Ibrahim Pasha's indisposition, and his consequent daily attendance upon him.

At length, the tenth of February was fixed for our expedition. We were to be accompanied only by my kind *cicerone*, Mr. Lubbert, and the physician of the naval staff, Dr. Koch.

I arrived in good time at the general's cheerful town house. He conducted us into his library, which contains a variety of objects in natural history, a fine specimen of the Ibis, whose identity with the Ibis of the ancients, is now pretty well established by several lately discovered hieroglyphic drawings, and in the court-yard of the house, which adjoins a large garden, there is a very neat little menagerie, stocked by a number of beautiful gazelles and several other rare animals and birds, which there are plenty of opportunities of procuring here.

We chatted pleasantly together for half an hour during the inspection of these things,

and on Clot Bey learning in the course of the conversation, to his great astonishment, that hitherto I had never carried a medicine chest with me, he very politely presented me with one, but luckily I have made very little use of the contents.

At eleven o'clock we started, Mr. Lubbert and myself in a four-horse carriage of the Viceroy's, Dr. Koch on horse-back and Clot Bey driving himself in a little gig neatly built by a German saddler, at Cairo, to show us the way.

In a short time we found ourselves in the desert, and dashed along at a rapid pace over the fine sand without road or path. On our right, part of the Mokkatam took the shape of a royal sarcophagus, on our left we had the green plantations, which Mr. Bonfort has managed to steal from the desert.

In the distance behind us the minarets of the proud capital melted away in the blue of the cloudless sky, and before us there was nothing but an ocean of sand, blown together by the wind into white hills of ever-varying form.

In another hour we reached a coffee-house kept by an old Arab, who at the time of the

battle of Heliopolis, which began near this spot, followed the noble trade of a robber, and in that capacity took part in the battle, that is to say, he kept with his band close to the Mokkatam, so as to be able to plunder friend or foe according to circumstances. Nothing could surpass the poetical phraseology of this Arab.

“Our chief, Hassan,” said he, “was the lion of the desert. Before the first ray of the sun gilded the west, his noble steed carried him daily to strife and danger. Bark (the Arab for lightning) was of the purest blood of the Nedshi, and won his name from his deeds. When he set off, he had nearly vanished from your sight—a moment more—and you saw nothing!”—Is not that quite in Lord Byron’s style?

He recollected Murat at the head of the French Mamelukes—spoke with veneration of Desaix the Just; with admiration of Kleber, to whom he is still grateful for the booty which he made on that day; but his enthusiasm reached its climax when he spoke of Aboo Napartoo.

“Sultan Kebir,” (as Buonaparte is called in Egypt) “loved the Moslems, and could

have knocked down all the mosques with the point of a pin. They have told us that he is dead — died in the middle of the sea, and that the Pashas, who surrounded him, had seen his soul flying off like a spark of fire along the edge of his sword.”

I pass over the remainder of the highly seasoned gossip of the poetical coffee-house keeper, as everybody knows the particulars of the battle of Heliopolis, where Kleber with six thousand French, routed seventy thousand Turks. At any rate it served to render the old robber's bad coffee more palatable to us, and, being sufficiently refreshed, we went on foot to a village, distant only a few thousand paces, and situated on the confines of the desert, behind which, there is a small forest of orange trees.

This forest is justly styled a holy one, for in the midst of it, there are, by the side of a beautiful spring, the remains of an old sycamore, under which, according to tradition, the Virgin with the Child rested, on her flight into Egypt. The tree is partly decayed by age, partly destroyed by the pious spoliation of pilgrims, continued for so many centuries.

We also collected some relics here, and cut ourselves some neat walking-sticks out of the young orange trees, which closely surrounded the venerable old trunk.

We then wandered on to the still more ancient town of Heliopolis. Within the easily traceable walls, which surround the extensive temple of the sun, in the midst of a green barley field, stands a fine obelisk, with well preserved hieroglyphics, and the rings of the Orzotases, who reigned two thousand years before the Christian era, the only remains of a celebrated religious monument. An unpretending farm-yard, belonging to the Minister Bôghos Bey, adjoins it, and the aspect of the country around, the uniformity of which is only diversified by a few palm trees, is desolate and melancholy.

We had ordered the carriages to follow us hither, but did not find them, and were obliged to walk in search of them a considerable way, through the sands of the desert, a very fatiguing task.

During the walk we collected a number of very fine pebbles, which a great flood must, at some period or other, have swept over the surface in considerable quantities, and also

saw the camp of a Tunisian Caravan, which was on its pilgrimage to Mecca. I was delighted to see again the rich costume of the Mograbins, as they are called here, and chance would even have it, that I met a Moor of my acquaintance among them, for the proverb says:—

“Hills and valleys keep their places, but human beings meet each other.”

And meetings like this in distant lands carry always a sort of pleasure with them, however insignificant, may be the persons we meet.

This long search for our people consumed a good deal of time, and the evening had set in, with a cloudy European sunset, when we reached Abu-Zabel. For this day, therefore, we could only think of refreshment and repose, both of which had been amply provided for by Clot Bey, and all else was postponed to the following day.

In the morning, after the general had presented to me the teachers of the institution, a great portion of whom are taken from the school itself, and after the pupils of the neighbouring musical school of Kauka had played me a very agreeable morning serenade, I commenced my rounds.

It is impossible to find anything more grand, or more appropriate in its character than this institution, the only drawback of which is that, as a healing institution, it is too far distant from the capital.

This was however at first necessary, as the whole undertaking and especially some of its branches, such as the dissection of dead bodies, the public treatment of accouchements, &c., were so directly opposed to the religious prejudices of the moslems, that it was not deemed advisable to bring such spectacles immediately under their eyes, and even as it is, it has required the iron will of Mehemet Ali, and the indefatigable zeal of Clot Bey, to accustom the population to things to which they have such a strong objection.

It is however believed that the time will soon come, when more decisive proceedings may be taken, and then it is to be presumed, that an exchange will be made between Abu-Zabel and Kasserleng, which would be of great future advantage to both establishments, the respective localities of which also render the proposed arrangement very feasible, for the medical academy with the hospital, would, of course, be placed more suitably and success-

fully in the capital, and for the school, the rural seclusion and absence from the distractions of Cairo are much more desirable. Yet many years will elapse before the establishment at Kasserleng attains the perfection, as regards medical purposes, for which the one at Abu-Zabel is already so eminently distinguished.

Abu-Zabel stands on the same spot, where, during the battle of Heliopolis, the Grand Vizier, pitched his head quarters, and where that battle was afterwards decided. A number of neat and clean looking buildings surround court yards planted with trees, but the college buildings themselves, form a large quadrangle, which is handsomely decorated with fountains, and used for a splendid botanical garden. In the middle of it stands quite isolated—the kitchen.

Whether this arrangement has for its object to keep away the disagreeable smell of cooking from the dwellings, lecture rooms, sick rooms, &c., or to separate, in a manner more striking to the eye, animal from spiritual matters, or whether it is, perhaps, owing to the shrewd notion that once induced a French doctor to begin in every great house, where he

was for the first time making a rich present to the cook as the party who furnished him with most of the patients, I have not been able exactly to ascertain. But if I was left partly in the dark with respect to the kitchen, I cannot pass without due praise, the splendidly fitted up pharmacy, the most elegant and odoriferous I have ever been in, with a laboratory adjoining and full of collections, which must be highly interesting even to a person who is not a connoisseur in such matters; for instance, collections of all kinds of tea and coffee, put up in beautifully ground crystal boxes, with a great many other pleasant extracts and costly essences, as inviting as could be found in a confectioner's shop.

Only the best quality of article is admitted here, and the strictest order prevails in the rooms of the hospital; the general arrangement and cleanliness of which, leave nothing to be desired. If a servant is guilty of the slightest neglect, he is immediately punished; and in the second instance put in chains, which punishment Clot Bey, with greater humanity and better results, has substituted for the one formerly practised here,

the kurbash or lashes on the soles of the feet.

A fine collection of anatomical preparations, giving a faithful representation of the wonderful structure of the human body in every one of its details, and a cabinet of natural history, lately commenced, belong also to the treasures of the establishment; the store rooms for articles of all kinds are richly stocked, and, in many particulars, I found much that was novel and recommendable.

Thus, in several of the lecture rooms, the walls were carefully painted, but instead of unmeaning ornaments, they contained the planetary system, other parts of the heavens, many mathematical figures, and a huge map of the world, a decidedly good arrangement, as it speaks continually to the eye of the pupils. *Our* eyes encountered, however, in that same room a less attractive sight, the dissection of a corpse, the odour of which was not of the most agreeable nature, especially as it had been denied the last honours of ablution. No Moslem could have turned away with more disgust from this useful subject than did my very enlightened self. I could not get rid of

the spectacle all the way up stairs, until we came to the bed-rooms, where Clot Bey has very appropriately substituted for the tables and commodes at the bedside, as you find them at Kasserleng closets and recesses in the walls, which, whilst they take up less room, are safer and more durable. The beds were regularly and alternately in each room, covered with grey and white woollen blankets. On my asking Clot Bey whether there was any particular object in this arrangement, he replied—

“ Nothing but my love of order. These blankets were furnished to me in two colours, and I found the mixture arising there from disagreeable to the eye, hence the present arrangement; but,” he added, “ I have had much trouble to get the Arabian inspector to understand it. He repeatedly said, ‘ where is the use of all this trouble—will the young men be covered any warmer by it ? ’ I found this answer quite national.”

Broad and flat roofs in the shape of terraces which lead round the whole of the square, form a cool and agreeable promenade, lined inside by the varied foliage of the bo-

tanical garden, without, by the large trees in the court yard, and beyond that by the white and shifting sandhills of the desert. Frequent lectures are given on those terraces..

We adjourned to the neat amphitheatre, which yields in nothing to that of Montpellier, to be present at a course of instruction in experimental physic. All the benches were already occupied by Arabian scholars in their uniform, which was fastened round the waist by a broad white girdle, ornamented with large metal plates. I think that to those plates as well as the existing dampness of the atmosphere, the fact is to be ascribed, that of all the experiments in electricity tried, not one succeeded completely. The instruction was ingeniously imparted in the following manner.

A French professor lectured, and an Arabian one, who had studied in Paris, sat next to him and translated each sentence to the pupils in their mother tongue; certainly a difficult task with purely scientific subjects, which, as there were so many technical expressions to be rendered faithfully in a language so much less cultivated, seemed to cost the young man a

few drops of perspiration. The Arabs at one time boasted of being the greatest physicians in the known world; they will have to thank Clot Bey for it, if they are destined to attain a second epoch of equal renown. He himself sets them the best possible example, and has performed several operations here of the most difficult and critical nature. Great credit is due to his magnanimity in those cases, for, far from deriving any pecuniary advantage from the results of his extraordinary skill, he gives to some of the needy patients money into the bargain. One man, from whom he had taken a swelling of one hundred and twenty pounds weight, even commenced an action against him. This fellow was a sort of buffoon, who had availed himself of his monstrous disfigurement to levy a considerable amount of alms from the idlers who pass their lives in the coffee-houses. He taxed Clot Bey with having taken away his livelihood, and asked, as indemnification, a pension, which the generous physician could not refuse him.

Close to Abu-Zabel, and connected with it, there is another set of buildings, disposed in nearly the same manner, for the purposes of a

veterinary school. I had here, again, the ill luck to come in for the dissection of an old mare, which smelt even worse than its human colleague.

Instead therefore, of waiting for the termination of the toilet of the director, who had been caught in *flagrante delicto*, and had hastily flung himself into the water of the fountain so as to be able to do the honours of the establishment, I ran off as fast as I could to the female accoucheurs in another section of the building. This establishment of Arabian midwives (amongst whom by the bye there are some exceedingly pretty girls) is under the superintendence of a Parisian female professor, and to my unlearned mind, there was certainly something burlesque in hearing this young lady describe with precision and accuracy, how a child came into the world, but I afterwards found at the examination of the Arab peasant girls, that they were endowed with as much, in fact with more, learning in *puncto puncti*, than I should have been able to have displayed myself. One of them, scarcely fourteen years of age, mounted on a stool before a large skeleton, and explained first

every bone of it, then the circulation of the blood, and lastly all the animal functions, with a fluency with which persons of her condition in Europe would scarcely read a washing bill. Clot was so delighted with the erudition of the pretty child, that he presented her with a gold piece. After a protracted examination in theory, the whole was wound up by series of practical operations on a leather body, in which a horrible little *magot* of the same stuff was stuck, and this embryo was then for half an hour in succession, brought into the world in all kinds of positions imaginable, in which performance I must mention, to the credit of the establishment, that very rarely, and only at the most desperate moments, the accomplished experience of the Parisian lady was called in to their assistance.

It would, however, be very unjust, if such comic scenes as these—the *drastic* effect of which, was heightened to almost a burst of laughter by the whispered *bon mots* of Mr. Lubbert, had blinded us to the great utility of the system, and the really beneficial exertions of Clot Bey, to whose superior knowledge, even the Ulemas have approvingly sacrificed all their inveterate prejudices.

“ *Il n’y a que des mauvais sujets comme nous qui rient de tout,*” quoted I, to Mr. Lubbert, from Voltaire, and I begged of him, for heaven’s sake, not to compromise me, as I saw that Clot Bey—who is as hot as a powder cask—and his Paris friend, who did not seem to relish a joke, had remarked our efforts to controul our merriment, and looked anything but pleased, at the want of respect it implied.

All life ends with death, and every day with a meal and although Clot Bey, when he dines by himself, never sits longer than a few minutes at table—yet he can play the patient, and amiable host, when he is in the society of *gourmands*, and can season his excellent repast, by the most amusing conversation.

A new, and very interesting guest had just arrived, in the person of the venerable archbishop and patriarch of the Greek Catholics in the East, accompanied by three clerical aides-de-camp, one of whom was a very robust old man, in form, a corpulent epicure—and, with the shrewd expression of a good humoured and sly Italian. Whilst he was doing honour to the champagne, as assiduously as myself, he explained to me, the points on which the Greek schismatics,

dissent from the orthodox Greek Church. They are, I believe, only five, but are of an equal importance ; for instance, the beneficial purgatory, which the schismatics, as the reverend patriarch very justly observed, deny *in words* only, while *in fact*, they acknowledge it, as they read the mass. Then they will not admit of any saints, either male or female, which, even I, find very wicked ; and, thirdly, they prefer unleavened to leavened bread, which, under circumstances any must have a very insipid taste.

I do not recollect the two further subjects of controversy ; but by those I have mentioned, it will be seen, how impossible it is for sects so diametrically opposed to each other in matters of such paramount importance, ever to live in harmony together.

In the course of the conversation, a great honor fell to my share. It was I, who gave the patriarch and his suite, the first intelligence of the holy tree of the Virgin—which the venerable ecclesiastic had passed that day, on his white steed, in a state of blissful ignorance ; but when his astonishment, at receiving such information from profane lips had subsided, he

came to the determination to make up for lost time by redoubled devotion on the following day; and, with similar pious resolutions. we took leave of our kind host.

END OF LOWER EGYPT.

Upper Egypt is in the Press, and will be published in a few days.

